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ABSTRACT

The dialects of Mandekan, a language spoken widely in West Africa, are described. The information was collected for the benefit of students of the languages, developers of texts in any of the dialects, and researchers in Mandekan-speaking areas. A phonetic grid of vowels, consonants, and tone establishes a broad system of symbols for transcription of Mandekan speech. The linguistic criteria that divide one dialect from another include various sound change processes and morphological differences that give a normative grouping of major dialects. The sound differences occur in initial consonants, medial consonants, vowels, and tone, while the morphological changes involve the noun phrase, the verb phrase, postpositions, and sentence types. The three major regions--Bambara, Dyula, and Maninka-Mandinka--are divided into the dialects occurring there for specific local descriptions. A bibliography is appended. (JB)

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The Dialects of Mandekan

edited by
Charles S. Bird

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THE DIALECTS OF MANDEKAN

Edited by

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FOREWORD

This study has a number of starting points. Most of the contributing authors have spent the best part of their professional lives studying one or more of the Mandekan dialects. At the time this project was organized, there were two major initiatives already underway. Ahmadou Toure of the Agence de la Cooperation Culturelle et Technique organized a major international project focussed at the study of both Fula and Mandekan. The Mandekan study included a component of dialect research in which each collaborating country organized a team of researchers to address the question of dialect differences within the boundaries of their respective countries. Prior to this Abdoulaye Balde (currently director of CLAD, Centre de la Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar) had begun an extensive survey of the western Mandekan dialects from the Senegal-Mauretania border down into the Casamance and into Guinée-Bissau. The project itself emanated from Indiana University with the help of a grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1977. Its specific purpose was to compile a comparative grammar such that students and researchers trained in one dialect of Mandekan could, without extensive difficulty, switch to another dialect if the need arose. We feel that the present work meets that need, as well as supplying a large corpus of hitherto unavailable facts relating to the range of Mandekan dialects.

Most of the details in this study come from the DNAFLA research team's dialect survey of 1979. This survey focussed specifically at young males in the regional literacy centers in the rural areas of Mali. Less than five percent of the corpus was collected from females. Less than ten percent of the corpus was collected in population centers greater than five thousand inhabitants. It was anticipated that the corpus as such would show a distinct orientation towards Standard Bambara (more or less the dialect spoken in and around Bamako). Standard Bambara is the dialect used in radio broadcasting, the major communications channel in rural Mali, and it is the dialect upon which the literacy materials are based. It is the language of the bureaucracy, and its use represents upward mobility and modernization, as opposed to the conservatism of the rural areas. It was assumed that the young male population would be consciously orienting towards the speech and behavior of the capital city and would thus furnish a yardstick for the effectiveness of standard language materials as developed in the capital city for the rural areas.

The research team was surprised by the degree of dialect variation represented in the corpus, in spite of the restricted research population. What is more, in the recorded texts, they found extensive bidialectism. Young and old, male and female, frequently switch to some facsimile of Standard Bambara when addressing strangers representing the government. Many of the rural citizens refer to Standard Bambara as Fɔnksyɔnɛrɛkan, roughly 'bureaucrat's language.' This dialect was understood by most adults over the entire territory surveyed, and some people of the rural areas are quite competent performers of it as well. The young male population surveyed reflected their passive ability to understand this dialect, but they were still by and large active performers of the rural dialects.

The DNAFLA team, as well as the authors of this study are well aware of the overall limitations of this survey. Not only was the research population purposefully limited, but in some cases it was impossible to obtain more than two or three samples of a given dialect. There was no effort to obtain 'naturally occuring speech.' The time and effort that this would have required would have been well behond the scope of the project, as well as the interest of the researchers.

We do feel however that this study provides a great deal of practical information to students of the language, developers of texts in one or another of the dialects, and researchers and workers in the Mandekan speaking areas. We hope that students of Mandekan will find many stimulating topics for further study in these pages.

CSB

INTRODUCTION

Mandekan[1] is the term used to refer to the language known by the dialect names Bambara, Maninka, Mandinka, Dyula, Malinke, Maraka, Kuranko, Mandingo, Wangara, Manya and several others. These dialects extend over a vast region of West Africa from southern Mauretania to the shores of the Ivory Coast and from central Upper Volta in the east to the Atlantic coast in the west.

The populations comprising the Mandekan diaspora trace their origins back to the original heartland, the Mande. This area lies today in the Upper Niger valley where the river intersects the border between Mali and Guinea. Considering all the dialects together, there are estimated to be from five to six million native speakers and at least twice that many who speak it as a second language.

One of the principle causes for the great spread of this population can be traced to the thirteenth century Mali Empire in which the people of the Mande and their allies extended their hegemony over much of the western Savannah region. Migrations for trade and work, as well as to avoid the ravages of war, have continued to spread the Mandekan speakers further and further from their original heartland.

There were apparently two main patterns of migration from the original Mande. One path went westward following the northern slopes of the Fouta Diallon range along the river valleys leading towards the Atlantic coast in Senegal and the Gambia. The second was to follow the paths of the Niger and its tributaries north and eastward, bringing the Mandekan speakers into eastern Mali, across the northern Ivory Coast and into western Upper Volta and northern Ghana.

These two paths of migration mark the most significant split in dialects of Mandekan. The point of division can be located on a line running north-south in the Kita region. This great dialect division is accompanied, as one might expect, by significant differences in socio-economic orientation. From Kita to the west, the populations are oriented in trade and labor migrations towards Senegal and the Gambia. To the east of Kita, the populations are oriented towards the great commercial centers of the central Savannah and to the forest regions in the south. There have been numerous exceptions to this during fairly recent times. There has been, for example, a steady migration for work and trade from the Wasulu region on the Mali/Guinea border to the Gambia. What began as a relatively minor displacement seems to have become a significant migration over the last one hundred years. These movements of peoples continue to effect changes in the dialects of Mandekan. The present extensive labor migrations of Mandekan speakers to the Ivory Coast have served to make the Commercial Dyula dialect the major African tongue spoken in the Ivory Coast and it is fast becoming the most important language of Abidjan. These substantial movements of peoples into new areas, coupled with the great numbers of people using Mandekan as a second language, have initiated a process of homogenization and simplification of the forms of Mandekan.. It is now the case that the standard forms of Dyula of the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta, the standard form of Maninka, used in Guinea, and the standard form of Bambara used in Mali are only distinguished by relatively minor structural differences, and are easily mutually intelligible. These standard froms are layed over regional dialects, some of which have undergone rather significant processes of sound change and morphological innovation. There is as a result a great deal of diglossia in which local dialects are used among insiders, but where a form of the standard is called upon for interactions with strangers.

Diglossic situations lead, of course to dialect mixing, borrowing and analogical blending. As one might expect, it is quite impossible at this point in time to sort out these various processes. That is, there is virtually no way to distinguish sound change, analogy and borrowing, given any particular dialect. In the following section discussing the criteria selected for the study of dialect differences, we treat these differences as processes, but our conception of these processes is simlar to Wang's theory in which sound changes gradually generalize across the lexicon (Wang, 1969). Given a particular word in a particular form, we are able to explain what processes were brought to bear in giving it its shape, but this explanation has virtually no predictive weight, since words with similar or identical original shapes may not undergo the same processes, for one reason or another. Our task then is to signal to the reader that a particular process may be operating in a given region, but we cannot guarantee that the forms of particular words will be shaped by that process.

The dialects of Mandekan are nonetheless the results of the intersections of these processes. It became apparent to us while doing the survey work, that the dialects clustered around traditional settlement patterns. In spite of the fact that there was substantial movement and multidialectism among these populations, the local dialects retained significant features of differentiation.

This being the case, the overall organization of our material follows a geographic logic, beginning with the northernmost extensions of the Bambara dialect in the Mopti region of Mali, extending down along both sides of the Niger to incorporate all of the subregions of the Bambara dialects. The Bambara subregions for which we have included a dialect description are the following: (the numbers relate to their order of description in the following sections)

1. Kala-Kuruma (Ke-Macina to Niono)
2. Banamba-Mesekele (Niamina, Banamba, Koulikoro)
3. Beledugu (Kolokani)
4. San Region-San Town
5. Bendugu-Jonkala (Niamana, Yankasso, Bla)
6. Dafinna-Boronna (Mali-Upper Volta border)
7. Sieladugu-Sarodugu (Saro-, Siela)
8. Segou
9. Baninko-Jedugu (Dioila, Massigui)
10. Jitumu-Keleyadugu-Cakadugu (Welessebougou, Sanankoro)
11. Bougouni and environs
12. Gwandugu-Shendugu (Massigui, Kolondieba)
13. Ganadugu (Niendjila, Blendio, Niena, Kinyan)
14. Sikasso and environs

Sikasso is the logical point to introduce the Dyula dialects, since many Mandekan speakers in that area refer to themselves as Dyula, and perhaps more importantly, there are significant structural parallels between the Sikasso dialect and the commercial forms of Dyula. We have set up two categories of commercial Dyula as follows:

1. Uper Volta Standard Jula
2. Ivory Coast Standard Jula

We will deal with other dialects of Mandekan spoken in the Ivory Coast under the rubrique of Guinean Maninka.

The Maninka-Mandinka dialects consist of two subsections: east and west. The eastern sections include the dialects of southern Mali (Mande, Wasulu) and the dialects of eastern Guinea, including Kuranko in northeastern Sierra Leone and the Koyaga-Worodugu dialects of Guinea and the Ivory Coast. The major differentiating feature is that the eastern dialects have seven-vowel systems whereas the western dialects have only five (cf. IIIA3).

1. Mande
2. Wasulu
3. Birgo
4. Kankan
5. Sankaran
6. Kuranko
7. Worodugu-Koyaga
8. Kita
9. Kaata-Sorma
10. Gangaran
11. Xaso
12. Banbugu
13. Kaabu

II. THE PHONETIC GRID

The purpose of this section is to establish a relatively broad system of symbols for the transcription of any of the dialects of Mandekan.

We are not interested here in the finer points of phonetic differentiation between the many Mandekan dialects, but rather with a transcription system that can adequately characterize the phonemic oppositions in these dialects while giving a reasonable representation of the phonetic shape of those phonemes.

A. The Vowels

Our transcription system differentiates seven vowel qualities to which are added oppositions of nasalization and length.

We have found no dialect, apart from Worodugukan, which differentiates more than seven vowel qualities; in fact from Kita to the west, only five vowel qualities appear to be in opposition.

1. The Symbols

i u

e o

ɛ ɔ

a

For the purposes of exposition we have decided to use the symbols of the International Phonetic Association. The official orthographies of the countries where dialects of Mandekan are spoken differ considerably with respect to the representation of mid-level open vowels. These systems are represented below.

IPA	Mali	Guinée	Upper Volta Ivory Coast	Senegal Gambia
i	i	i	i	i
e	e	e	e	e
ɛ	è	ë	ɛ	
a	a	a	a	a
ɔ	ò	ö	ɔ	
o	o	o	o	o
u	u	u	u	u

2. Vowel Length

All dialects of Mandekan appear to have oppositions between long and short vowels. These oppositions however are extremely unstable, varying from dialect to dialect, from speaker to speaker and from utterance to utterance within the same idiolect. All the orthographies represent vowel length by doubling the vowel. We will use this convention where length is phonemic or morphological. Where length is phonetic we will represent it with a colon /:/ after the vowel.

There are a number of cases in which vowel lengthening is part of a phonetic process.

a) There is often compensatory vowel lengthening with the loss of nasalization in those Bambara dialects where this process operates. For example, in the Segou dialect of Bambara, the word dẽ 'child' denasalizes. In so doing it takes on compensatory lengthening: de:.

b) Syllables that bear kinetic tone are generally lengthened. This is more noticeable with low rising tones that with their high falling counterparts: 'two horses' sǒ: fila.

3. Vowel Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is phonemic in every dialect that we have examined. We have adopted the orthographic convention of signaling nasalization with the letter /n/ following the vowel since there are few if any oppositions between vowel nasalization and the pronunciation of a final consonant /n/ in any dialect. However where we wish to draw the reader's attention to particular phonetic processes or where there may be some problem arising from this orthography, we will use the tilde /˜/ over the nasalized vowel.

There is, for example, an opposition in the Bamako dialect between a palatal nasal, represented by /ny/ and a nasalized vowel preceding /y/, an opposition which cannot be expressed by the conventions we have adopted. For those cases, we will use the tilde.

	Bamako
'truth'	tĩyɛn

In the western dialects, the word final nasal is frequently articulated in isolation as a velar nasal /ŋ/.

	Xasonke
'child'	dindiŋ

This phenomenon has led a number of scholars to adopt the orthographic convention of word final /ng/ for the representation of nasalization in the western dialects. Moreover in Gambian Mandinka the use of word final orthographic /ng/ is a widely accepted convention.

4. Front Rounded Vowels

In the Worodugukan dialect of the Ivory Coast and Guinea, we find the development of a series of front rounded vowels (cf. Gingiss, 1973).

We will adopt Gingiss' convention of a trema /¨/ over the fronted vowel to represent this phenomenon.

Worodugukan

'dog'	wü
'ear'	tö
'get'	sö

5. Diphthongs

If a diphthong is defined as a single vocalic nucleus with a complex articulation beginning at one point and terminating at another, bearing a single tone and constituting an integral part of a single morpheme, there are few if any legitimate diphthongs in the Mandekan dialects.

Many sequences of vowels arise through the juxtaposition of morphemes, for example when the plural morpheme (represented by a vowel in some dialects) is suffixed to nouns or when the definite article is added to nouns or their modifiers. We will write these simply as a sequence of vowels.

'the shea tree'	sio

In those dialects where the definite article follows a nasal, we will adopt, for the purposes of this text, a hyphen to assure the appropriate phonetic interpretation of the word final /n/.

'the breast'	sin-o (phonetically sĩo or sĩŋo)

With respect to the plural markers where they occur as simple vowel suffixes, we adopt the same convention as above:

'children'	den-u (phonetically dẽu)

All other instances of the sequences of two vowels in single morphemes, we prefer to treat as separated by the glides /y/ and /w/.

'nothing'	foyi
'Seydou'	Seyidu

B. The Consonant Chart

labial	alveolar	alveopalatal	velar	pharyngeal	labiovelar	glottal
p	t	c	k	q	kp	
b	d	j	g		gb	
ɸ	s	š	x			h
	z	ž	ɣ			
m	n	ny	ŋ		ŋm	
	l					
	r					
		y				

It is to be recalled that these symbols represent the broad phonetic inventory for the Mandekan dialects. There is no dialect in which all of these sounds occur, either as phones or as phonemes.

1. The Voiceless Stops

The voiceless stops are generally lightly aspirated, with the exception of /q/. The latter is a contextual variant of /x/ in Xasonke (cf. Cissé, 1976). The voiceless labiovelar /kp/ occurs only in a few dialects and does not appear to be phonemically opposed to /gb/.

2. The Voiced Stops

Most of these function as phonemes in the dialects of Mandekan. /g/ and /gb/ vary considerably however. There are a number of dialects where they are not phonemically opposed. Similarly /j/ is a highly unstable phoneme throughout the Mandekan dialects, that is there are many cases where it is not part of the phonemic inventory.

3. The Voiceless Fricatives

The bilabial fricative /ɸ/ has only been found in Worodugukan, where it corresponds in most instances to /x/ and/or /k/ in other dialects.

/š/ in many dialects is an allophone of /s/, but there are a number of dialects where it seems to be establishing itself as a phoneme.

/x/ is attested as a phoneme in opposition to /k/ and /h/, from Kita west to Kayes and on into Senegal. In some instances, /x/ is pharyngeal and alternates with /q/.

/h/ is phonemic in all the dialects we have examined. In the main, it is used in words borrowed from Arabic, except in the western Kita region where it corresponds widely to /f/.

4. The Voiced Fricatives

The voiced fricatives are in general much less well established as phonemes than their voiceless counterparts.

/v/ is found in the eastern areas as an allophone of /f/ after a nasal. In the Sikasso region, there are borrowings from other local languages which establish /v/ as a marginal phoneme.

/z/ where it is found arises in most cases as a correspondence of /ns/. In those dialects where the nasal element has been lost, it has at least a distributional phonemic status.

/ž/ occurs in our corpus only as a correspondence to /z/, /nz/, etc., in the areas south of the Niger River towards the Sikasso region.

5. The Nasals

All the nasal consonants are attested phonemically. The only one with a relatively restricted distribution is the labiovelar nasal /ŋm/ which is found along the border of Mali and the Ivory Coast from the Wasulu to the Sikasso region, as for example, in the Wasulu word for rash: ŋmanya.

6. The Liquids

In spite of the great variation between /r/ and /l/ in Mandekan dialects, both appear to be phonemic in the dialects we have examined. In Marka-Jalan and Dafin in Upper Volta, /r/ and /l/ are distinct initially, while intervocalically only /r/ is found. In a number of Bambara dialects, neither /r/ nor /l/ are found in word initial position, but both are found intervocalically.

7. The Glides

/y/ and /w/ are attested as phonemes in all the dialects examined.

8. Nasal Plus Consonant Clusters

Mandekan has many dialects where there are nasal plus consonant clusters in initial and/or medial position. In the literature one finds references to these clusters as prenasals when they occur in initial position. In all the Mandekan cases however they appear to have the value of a two segment clusters. They will be represented by the following:

mp	nt	nc	ŋk	ŋkp
mb	nd	nj	ŋg	ŋgb
mf	ns			
mv	nz	nž		

It is rare to find in any one dialect more than six initial nasal clusters as phonemically contrasting units. Intervocallicaly, it is rare to find more than five. Since this is the case, the Malian literacy service has adopted the orthographic convention of using only /n/ for representing the nasal element in these clusters when the cluster appears in word initial position. In other orthographies, writers use /m/ before labials and /n/ elsewhere, both initially and medially.

9. The Labials

/mp/, /mb/ and /mf/ are in frequent alternation across dialects, but there are numerous dialects where all three are phonemically opposed. /mv/ has only been found as a variant of /mf/.

10. The Alveolars

/nt/ and /nd/ vary in a number of dialects, but we have not yet found a dialect where they are phonemically opposed.

/ns/ and /nz/ vary considerably, and is some rare cases may be phonemically opposed.

11. The Palatals

/nc/ arises as a correspondence to both /nk/ and /nt/. In Sikasso however /nt/ and /nc/ are phonemically distinct. /nj/ arises as a variant of /nc/; in other words we have found no cases where it is phonemically opposed to /nc/. /nž/ arises as a variant of /ns/ and /nz/.

In no case are they phonemically distinct.

12. The Velars

/ŋk/ and /ŋg/ alternate considerably from dialect to dialect, but in a number of cases, they mark phonemic oppositions as well. Our corpus is not sufficient for us to determine whether /ŋx/ is in contrast with /ŋk/ in those dialects where both occur.

13. The Labiovelars

/ŋkp/ and /ŋgb/ are both attested but our corpus contains no clear cases of phonemic opposition.

14. The Palatalizations

Most of the dialects of Mandekan indicate various processes of palatalization, some of which are phonemic, others phonetic. We will follow a convention of indicating palatalization by the letter /y/ following the consonant. The palatalized consonants found in the dialects of Mandekan are the following:

py	ty	cy	ky
by	dy	jy	gy
fy	sy	šy	
	zy	žy	
my	ny		ŋy

15. The Labials

There are dialects in which all of the palatalized labials on the above chart are found in phonemic opposition.

16. The Alveolars

For the most part, these forms represent the initial stages of palatalization, the end point of which would be the postalveolar obstruents. There seem to be few cases of phonemic opposition between palatalized alveolars and their corresponding postalveolar obstruents. In Marka-Jalan where /k/ palatalizes to /c/, /t/ frequently only palatalizes to /ty/ resulting in just such an opposition:

man	cɛ
gather	tyɛ

17. The Postalveolars

Many of these cases arise from the modification and absorption of a medial consonant:

chicken	sisɛ > siyɛ > šiyɛ > syɛ
truth	tinya >tinyɛ >tiyɛn >ciyɛn > cyɛn

There may arise cases where there is at least distributional opposition:

man	cɛ
truth	cyɛn

18. The Velars

As is the case with the alveolars, the palatalized velars do not contrast with the postalveolars. They seem to be the initial stage of the following processes:

k > ky > c

g > gy > j

man	kɛ	>	kyɛ	>	cɛ
water	gi	>	gyi	>	ji

19. The Labializations

The following labializations are found in the dialects of Mandekan:

pw	tw	cw	kw
bw	dw	jw	gw
fw	sw	šw	
mw	nw	nyw	

The above labializations result from a number of unrelated processes:

a) Loss of intervocalic velar obstruent and vowel change.

salt kɔgɔ > kwa

b) Labialization of consonant preceding a back rounded vowel.

wash ko > kwo

bag bɔrɛ > bwɔrɛ

It is interesting to note that in some dialects the environment for this process (back rounded vowel) may itself be modified by subsequent processes, e.g.

bag bɔrɛ > bwɔrɛ > bwɛrɛ (by root vowel harmony)

c) The modification of a medial palatal.

steal sunyɛ > suyɛn > suwɛn > šuwɛn
> šwɛn

d) /gw/ arises also as a correspondence of /gb/.

kitchen gba > gwa

It is not unlikely that this process is bidirectional. Not only does it appear that labiovelars undergo a weakening process of /gb/ > /gw/ > /g/, it also appears that velars and labials may labialize and strengthen their articulations into labiovelar stops, e.g.

leave bɔ > bwɔ > gbɔ

The various derivations of these combinations may lead to numerous circumstances where they are in phonemic opposition to each other, to their nonlabialized counterparts and to other neighboring sounds. These situations are most likely to be found in the Bambara dialects where all the processes are still quite active.

C. Tone

The tonal systems of the Mandekan dialects are discussed more thoroughly in the section dealing with phonological criteria.

It will suffice to state here that four phonetic tones are noted in this text where relevant. There are two simple tones: high, represented by an acute accent over the vowel /´/ and low, represented by a grave accent over the vowel /`/. Complex tones are formed through combinations of high and low tones. Thus, high falling tones are a combination of high plus low /^/. Low rising tones are combinations of low followed by high, /ˇ/. In many dialects, low tone monosyllabic nouns cited in isolation will have a low-rising high-falling intonation, the result of a sequence of low plus high, followed by the definite article, e.g.

snake	sǎà
horse	sǒò

III THE CRITERIA

The linguistic criteria that divide and determine the dialects of Mandekan are as numerous and varied as the dialects themselves. It is nonetheless possible to give a reasonably normative grouping of the major dialects using a number of general criteria representing various sound change processes and morphological differences.

The criteria that we have selected follow to a great extent those selected by the DNAFLA team of linguists in 1979 for their dialect survey. The criteria are listed below and will be followed by a disscussion.

A. Sounds

1. Initial Consonants
    - a. Labials
    - b. Labialization
    - c. Alveolars
    - d. Palatals
    - e. Palatalization
    - f. Velars and Labiovelars
    - g. Prenasals
2. Medial Consonants
    - a. Labials, Labiovelars and Velars
    - b. Alveolar Stops.
    - c. Liquids
    - d. Velar Stops
        - i. Lenition
        - ii. Vowel Modification
    - e. Palatals

3. Vowels
    a. Vowel Reduction
        i. Reduction
        ii. Initial Consonant Change
    b. Nasalization
    c. Raising of final /a/
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B. Morphology and Syntax

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1. Initial Consonants

a) Labial Consonants

There are several major processes of sound change involving initial labials.

In the area around Kita and to the northwest, one finds initial /f/ in alternation with /h/.

In the discussion below, SB represents Standard Bambara.

	SB	Gangaran
donkey	fali	hali
father	fa	ha
wind	finyɛ	hɔnyɔ
say	fɔ	hɔ
mind	hakili	fakili
noble	hɔrɔn	fɔrɔn
care	hajunu	fajunu

In the area around San and extending to the Upper Volta border, one finds many instances of /f/ corresponding to /p/.

	SB	Dafin
donkey	fali	pari
father	fa	pa
say	fɔ	pɔ

b) Labialization

There is a process of labialization common to number of regions (Baninkɔ, Beledugu, Dafinna), where primarily velars and labials add a labial feature when followed by back vowels.

	SB	Beledugu
father	bɔ	bwɔ
dung	bo	bwo
say	fɔ	fwɔ
hear	mɛn	mwɔ (Dafinna: mwɛn)
thing	ko	kwo
back	kɔ	kwɔ
bad	go	go

It is not unlikely that this process is involved in some of the correspondences between /g/ and /b/, correspondences which are generally confined to words containing originally back-rounded vowels.

	SB	Baninko
dung	bo	go
bag	bɔrɔ	gɔrɔ / gwɔrɔ
go out	bɔ	gɔ / gwɔ

c) The Alveolars

The major process involving initial alveolar consonant change is the one resulting in initial /d/ corresponding to /l/ and in some cases /j/. GM in the following discussion refers to General Maninka.

	SB	GM	Ganadugu
root	dili	lili	
lie down	da	la	
star	dolo	lolo	jolo
honey	di	li	ji

This is one of the major processes dividing the Bambara dialects from the rest of Mandekan.

d) The Palatals

The processes here deal primarily with the correspondences between /j/ and /y/. There is considerable variation across dialects with regard to these two sounds. Nonetheless rather local variants create some interesting isoglosses.

	SB	Wasulu	Banduku
water	ji	ji	ji
bottom	ju	ju	ju
show	jira	yira	yita
tree	jiri	yiri	yiri
here	yan	yan	jan
see	ye	ye	je

e) Palatalizations

There are a number of distinct palatalization processes, varying in their application from one dialect to another.

i. k : c

One finds numerous instances of /c/ in most Bambara dialects corresponding to /k/ in Maninka dialects. It is nonetheless very difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the phonological conditions which govern the operation of the process.

	Segou	Mande
man	cɛ	kɛ
good looks	cɛnyɛ	kɛnyi
bite	cin	kin

This process is almost completely generalized in Dafin where /k/ occurs only rarely before front vowels.

	Bamako	Dafin
war	kɛlɛ	cɛrɛ
one	kelen	ceren
call	wele	ciri

ii. g : j

This set of correspondences is much more rare than the k:c correspondences and it does not seem to be localized. One finds it in northern Bambara, spreading into Kaarta, the following infrequent instances:

	Bamako	Macina	Beledugu
water	ji	ji	gi
paddle	jufa	gufa	jufa
white	jɛ	gɛ	jɛ

iii. t : c

One finds a considerable number of t:c correspondences. Essentially one finds /t/ in the western dialects including in this instance Guinean Maninka. /c/ corresponding to Maninka-Mandinka /t/ is found in the Bambara and Dyula dialects.

	Bamako	Kita
between	cɛ	tɛ
truth	cyɛn	tonya

iv. s : š

One of the most characteristic processes differentiating the Bambara dialects from other dialects of Mandekan is the palatalization of /s/. There are two rather distinct environments in which this process takes place. In a number of instances where Maninka words have medial palatals, Bambara cognates have undergone vowel reduction. The resulting combination of an initial /s/ followed immediately by a palatal consonant results in the palatalization of the /s/.

	Mande	San	Segou	Bamako
chicken	sisɛ	siyɛ	šɛ	šɛ
bean	sɔsɔ	suyɔ	šɔ	šɔ
time	sennya	sinyɛ	šɛn	sinyɛ

The second context in which one finds s:š correspondences is generally that of high front vowels. In some dialects, this extends irregularly to /u/ and /e/.

	Bamako	Segou
hair	si	ši
smoke	sisi	šiši
eight	segin	šeegin
night	su	šu

v. d : j

There are widespread, though seemingly irregular correspondences between initial /d/ and initial /j/. In some cases, these also involve correspondences with /l/ (cf IA3).

	Bamako	Dioila	Koyaga
be quiet	de		je
help	dɛmɛ	jɛmɛ	jɛmɛ
some	dɔ	jɔ	
hole	diŋɛ		jiyɛn

f) Velars and Labiovelars

The following correspondences serve as major distinguishing characteristics of Mandekan dialects:

i. kp : gb : gw : g

The southeastern Maninka /gb/ corresponds to /gw/ and then to /g/ as one advances northward into the Bambara dialects. In Western Maninka and Mandinka, one finds either /g/ or /k/. Instances of /kp/ are very rare, appearing regularly in our corpus only in the Boron dialect.

	Boron	Wasulu	Keleya	Bamako
hearth	kpan	gba	gwa	ga
hard	kpɛ	gbɛrɛn	gwɛlɛn	gɛlɛn
heavy	kpuli	gbilin	gwilin	girin

ii. k : x

The Khasonke area between Kita and Kayes is distinguished by the presence of a phoneme /x/ which corresponds generally to /k/ in the other dialects.

	Khasonke	Mande
man	xɛ	kɛ
do	kɛ	kɛ
neck	xan	kan
twenty	muxan	mugan
elder	xɔtɔ	kɔrɔ

iii. ŋ : ŋw : ŋm

It is not unlikely that these correspondences resulted from a process of sound change wherein prenasalized initial velar consonants were modified into their nasal counterparts.

	Bamako	Wasulu
hero	ŋana	ŋwana / ŋmana
thorn	ŋoni	ŋweni / ŋmeni

g) Nasal plus Consonant Clusters (the Prenasals)

In the northwestern quadrant of the Mandekan areas, there is a high incidence of words beginning with a nasal consonant, homorganic with a following obstruent consonant. These sequences have been referred to as prenasalized consonants. Such an analysis might be presented to simplify statements about the phonotactics of Mandekan dialects, but the phonetic behavior of these units warrants their treatment as consonant clusters. The tone of the nasal is always the same as that for the following vowel, so there is no motivation for treating the nasal as a separate syllable (cf. Diarra, 1976).

There are two major sound change processes related to these sequences. In the first, the nasal consonant provides the environment for the voicing of the following obstruent. In the second, the nasal consonant is lost. The combination of the two processes results in four possible correspondences, all of which are actually attested.

As with the other processes of sound change that we have discussed, these two processes are by no means regular nor general. In the western dialects of Mandekan, the nasal element has disappeared, generally leaving a voiceless obstruent. In the eastern dialects, the situation remains in considerable flux, with subvariants depending more or less on the point and manner of articulation of the following consonant. For this reason we have treated each category separately.

i. ns : nz : s : z

One may find all of these forms in free variation in one dialect of Bambara. In the Mande, the nasal never appears before an initial consonant.

	Mande	Beledugu	Jonkala	Bamako
thief	son	nzon	zon	nson
rabbit	san	nzonza	sonzan	nsonzan

The Sikasso region has developed a phoneme /ž/ from this process. It is not improbable that it is restricted to roots with high tone.

	Bamako	Sikasso
rust	nsón	žón

ii. nt : nd : t : d

	Bamako	Bissau	Sikasso
spider	ntalen	talen	dalen
Monday	ntɛnɛn	tenen	dɛnɛn
toad	ntɔri	toto	dɔri

There are many dialects around the town of Sikasso where /t/ has a tendency to palatalize after the nasal. Given that one also finds the variable application of the nasal deletion rule, as well as the variable application of the palatalization rule, one can find all of the following pronunciations for the word 'grasshopper' in current use.

	Sikasso
grasshopper	ntɔn / ncɔn / cɔn / tɔn / dɔn / njɔn / jɔn

iii. nk : ng : k : g

	Wasulu	Mesekele	Sikaso
lie	nkalon	ngalon	galon
cricket	nkɛrɛn	ngɛrɛ	gɛrɛn
lute	nkɔni	ngɔni	gɔni
baboon	ngbɔn	gɔn	gɔn

As the Wasulu form for 'baboon' indicates, some of these cases may be historically related to an initial cluster of nasal plus labiovelar. In some dialects, as for example, Sikasso, the various processes of sound change have operated to neutralize this opposition between velar and labiovelar preceded by a nasal. In a great many dialects however the words for 'baboon' and the word for 'dew' will show initial consonants different from the members of the nasal plus velar set. This differentiation can be reasonably explained by positint an original labiovelar initial stop having a special effect on the operation of the process.

iv. mp : mb : p : b

	Bamako	Sikaso	Mande
bread	mburu	buru	buru
bridge	mpɔn	pɔn	
snuffbox	npɛrɛ		patɛ

The word for 'bread' occurs in all dialects examined either with /mb/ or with /b/ in initial position.

The process of voicing of a consonant following a nasal has been greatly generalized in the Bambara dialects running from Sikasso to Segou. In these areas, the process extends across word boundaries, e.g.

	Bamako	Segou
It is with me (I have it)	a bɛ m fɛ	a bɛ m vɛ

2. MEDIAL CONSONANTS

a) Labials, Labiovelars and Velars

g : b : w

A significant number of words show the above correspondences, possibly indicating a labiovelar stop as the historical source.

	Bamako	Kankan	Mandinka
three	saba	saba	sawa
meat	sogo	sobo	subu
dream	sigo	sibo	sibo

b) Alveolar Stops

In the Bambara dialects there are few intervocalic alveolar stops. Maninka intervocalic /t/ and /d/ generally correspond to /r/ in Bambara.

	Kita	Wasulu	Bamako/Segou
tie	siti / sidi	sidi	siri
elder	kɔtɔ / kɔdɔ	kɔdɔ	kɔrɔ

c) Liquids and Glides

1. Bambara /l/ : Maninka /r/

	Bamako	Wasulu
run	boli	bori
sew	kala	kara

moon	kalo	karo
indigo	gala	kara

ii. Bambara /r/ : Maninka /l/

	Bamako	Wasulu
five	duuru	loolu
string	juru	julu
canoe	kurun	kulun

iii. Further to the south, in the Koyaga dialects of eastern Dyula, /l/ and /r/ correspond almost entirely to /y/ or have completely disappeared, e.g.

	Wasulu	Koyaga	
run	bori	bwi	(from boyi)
sew	kara	kya	(from kaya)
rope	julu	jü	
elder	kɔrɔ	kɔ̈	

These last two examples represent a further process of sound change operating in the Koyaga dialects. It appears that when the liquids are changed to /y/ between two like back vowels, there is a subsequent change in which the back vowels and the front glide coalesce to produce a front rounded vowel.

When the two vowels are /a/ or not the same, the first vowel will often coalesce with the /y/, resulting in a diphthong.

	Wasulu	Koyaga	
sew	kara	kya	(from kaya)
run	bori	bwi	(from boyi)
war	kɛlɛ	kyɛ	(from kɛyɛ)
monkey	sula	swa	(from suya)

d) Velar Stops

i. Lenition

There is no clear phonemic opposition between any of the medial consonants (/k/, /x/, /g/, and /ɣ/) in the dialects of Mandekan, all members of the set showing considerable free variation. Some dialects tend to target one or the other sounds more frequently however. In the Wasulu, for example, one finds a preponderance of intervocalic /k/, whereas most of the Bambara dialects tend to emphasize /g/ or /ɣ/. The Guinean Maninka dialects have lost medial velars completely between like vowels, but this process is found only sporadically further to the north. In Ganadugu, one finds that the medial obstruent frequently corresponds to a glottal stop, e.g.

	Wasulu	Bamako	Ganadugu	Kankan
sit	siki	sigi	siˀi	si
eight	sekin	segin	segin	sen / seyin
go	taka	taa	taˀa	ta
kill	faka	faga	faˀa	fwa

ii. Diphthongization

When the velar stops undergo lenition between mid back lax vowels in the Segou dialects, a back diphthong frequently results, and the mid vowel is lowered to /a/.

	Bamako	Segou
salt	kɔgɔ	kwa
name	tɔgɔ	twa
person	mɔgɔ	maa

together	nyɔgɔn	nyaan / nywaan
sleep	sinɔgɔ	sinaa

e) Palatals

In the northeastern Mandekan quadrant there is considerable instability with the medial nasal palatals. They alternate with /y/ followed by a nasal vowel, and frequently the intervocalic /y/ corresponds only to the palatalization of the preceding consonant.

	Wasulu	Bamako	Keleya	San
sand	kinyɛ	cɛncɛn	cɛn	cɛncɛn
truth	knya	tiyɛn / cyɛn	cɛn	tinyɛ
time	senya	siyɛn / syɛn	šyɛn	sinyɛ
world	dunya	diyɛn / dyɛn	jɛn	dinyɛ

When vowel reduction takes place before the reduction of the palatal nasal, the initial consonant, if /t/ or /k/, is frequently transformed into a nasal ejective. This effectively neutralizes the opposition between oral points of articulation. This might explain the correspondences found for the word for 'truth' above.

f) Nasal plus Consonant

Nasal plus consonant medial clusters are generally reduced to their nasal counterparts in the Bamako/Segou area. The process is differentially generalized according to the point of articulation of the cluster. For this reason, we have chosen to present them separately.

i. mb : m

	Kita	Bamako
elephant	semba	sama
crocodile	bamba	bama

lean	sɛmbɛ	sɛmɛ
pass	tambi	tɛmɛ

ii. nd : n

	Kita	Bamako
healthy	kɛndɛ	kɛnɛ
drum	dundun	dunun
proverb	sanda	nsana

iii. ŋg : ŋ : ŋk

	Kita	Bamako	Segou
force	fanka	fanga	faŋa
hunger	kɔnkɔ	kɔngɔ	kɔŋɔ

3. VOWELS

There are an enormous number of vocalic modifications in the Mandekan dialects. Many of these are related to general processes of vowel assimilation within roots, that is the raising, backing, fronting, or lowering of a root vowel under the influence of another vowel in the same root. There are no instances of this sort of vowel harmony extending across morpheme boundaries. The application of this process to individual words appears for the most part to be sporadic and irregular in all the dialects that we have examined. Since such differences in the shapes of words from one dialect to another are not systematic, they do not constitute isoglosses.

The processes that we point out in the following sections are much more regular and do, in fact, serve to delineate significant dialect boundaries.

a) Vowel Reduction

i. Simple Reduction

In the northeastern quadrant, when an intervocalic consonant is a continuant, its preceding vowel will reduce. There are a number of contingent factors affecting the generality of application of this process; it is nonetheless very widespread in the Bambara areas.

	Mande	Bamako
divide	tala	tla
two	fila	fla
grab	mina	mnε
time	tuma	tma
alcohol	dɔlɔ	dlɔ
truth	tonya	tnyε

Although the first vowel is reduced to virtually nothing, it still appears to have some "psychological reality", perhaps due to the influence of canonical form. Whatever the case, speakers of those dialects where the vowel has been reduced, no longer have sufficient information to identify the original vowel. When speaking deliberately, in word games or in songs, the standard procedure is for the speakers to insert the vowel /i/ between the two consonants.

ii. Initial Consonant Modification

In a number of areas, primarily in the Bambara regions, the reduction of the vowel and the resultant juxtaposition of two consonants, triggers a modification of the initial consonant.

tl : kl : xl : šl : fl

	Bamako	Baniko	Cendo	Beledugu
divide	tla	kla	šla	xla
sun	tle	kle	šle	xle / fle
ear	tlo	klo	šlo	xlo / flo

dl : gl : bl

	Bamako	Kolondieba	Ganadugu
alcohol	dlɔ	glɔ	blɔ
gown	dlɔki	glɔki	blɔki

In the region around Dioila, an initial /d/ assimilates to a following /l/ after the vowel has reduced, producing a syllabic /l̩/.

	Bamako	Dioila
alcohol	dlɔ	l̩lɔ
gown	dlɔki	l̩lɔki

b) Nasalization

In the Segou region there is a tendency for vowel nasalization at the end of words to be lost. This means that a word pronounced in isolation without nasalization will restore its final nasal when another word follows it.

	Bamako	Segou
child	den	de:
head	kun	ku:
No child is here	den tɛ yan	den tɛ yan
headbone	kun golo	kun golo

In Koyaga, nasal vowels seem to develop from the loss of intervocalic /n/. Thus Koyaga sɛn 'farm' corresponds to general Mandekan sɛnɛ.

c) Raising of final /a/

In the Bambara area final /a/ has a tendency to rise to /ɛ/ when preceded either by /i/ or by a palatal nasal.

	Wasulu	Bamako
grab	mina	minɛ
truth	tnya	tinyɛ
time	senya	sinyɛ

d) Raising of Tense /e/ and /o/

The line that divides the eastern and western halves of the Mande world, cutting through the region of Kita, marks among other things the isogloss representing the raising of the mid tense vowels /e,o/ to /i,u/ respectively. To the west of Kita, the dialects contain basically five vowels. To the west of Kita, they contain seven.

	Bamako	Kita
child	den	din
leg	sen	sin
one	kelen	kilin
arrive	se	si
arm	bolo	bulu
horse	so	su
bone	kolo	kulu
woman	muso	musu

4. TONE

a) Tonemics and Tonetics

In all the dialects that we have examined, the following hold true with respect to the tonal system.

i. There are two contrasting tones, which we label high and low.

	Bamako	Kita
It's not a house	só tɛ́	sú tɛ́
It's not a horse	sò tɛ́	sù tɛ́

ii. All the syllables of most polysyllabic common nouns carry the same tone in most contexts. Perhaps a better way of stating this is to say that if you know the tone of the first syllable of the word, you will be able to predict its tonal behavior, regardless of how long the word is.

	Bamako	Kankan
It's not an arm	bóló tɛ́	búlú tɛ́
It's not a tree	jírí tɛ́	yírí tɛ́
It's not a woman	mùsò tɛ́	mùsù tɛ́
It's not a pineapple	jàbìbì tɛ́	jàbìbì tɛ́
It's not a mango	mángóró tɛ́	mángúrú tɛ́

In the northern band of dialects from Segou into Kaarta, three syllable high tone words like mángóró 'mango' are pronounced in citation form with a high-low-high pattern, mángòró. In compounds however they are pronounced with high level tone. There is in no case, with the exception of Arabic loanwords and some ideophones, more than two tonal configurations for any syntactic position.

iii. In most eastern dialects, there is a phonetic rising tone configuration. This occurs when two words of basically low tone are juxtaposed. The first member of the pair will have a rising configuration. With monosyllables, this configuration manifests itself as a rising tone, e.g.

one horse	sò kélén
two horses	sǒ fìlà
Come home!	nà só
Come here!	nǎ yàn

Two and three syllable words manifest the rising configuration on their last syllable, e.g.

one woman	mùsò kélén
two women	mùsó fìlà
one banana	nàmàsà kélén
two bananas	nàmàsá fìlà

Our information is incomplete with regard to the western dialects. It seems however that there are at least two variants of this dissimilatory phenomenon. In some dialects, it appears that the second of two juxtaposed low tones dissimilates, showing a falling configuration in these contexts, e.g.

one woman	mùsù kílíŋ
two women	mùsù fílà

In other dialects, words that vary between low and rising configurations in the eastern dialects seem to have an invariant falling configuration.

one woman	músù kílíŋ
two women	músù fílà

iv. In all the dialects that we have examined, there is a down-stepping effect brought about by low tones. A high tone following a low tone will not return to the same pitch level established by a preceding high tone, e.g.

There are not two women here ¬mùsó fìlà tɛ́ yàn

In the above example, the high tone on tɛ́ is not as high as the high tone on the last syllable of mùsó.

v. High tone words following high tone words occur on the same level of pitch, e.g.

one child	dén kélén	[¯ ¯ ¯]
one arm	bóló kélén	[¯ ¯ ¯ ¯]
I didn't go home	ń má tágá só	[¯ ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯]

In the Bambara dialects, it will often be the case that the last of a series of high tone words receives a stress accent. This accent leads to a tonal readjustment in which the accented syllable is raised and the preceding high tones gradually rise to it, e.g.

No child went home today. dén má táa só bì [- - - ¯ _]

Spears (1968, 1973) argues that; in Guinean Maninka, this context leads to an actual lowering of high tones to low tones.

b) Tone and the Definite Article

In the western dialects, a segmental morpheme expresses the definite article. We fine -o in Mandinka and Khassonke, as well as in the Koyaga dialects of the Ivory Coast. In Kuranko, the definite article is -e. In the eastern dialects of Bambara, Maninka, and Dyula, the segmental shape of the definite article has been lost, but the tonal effects of the original morpheme and perhaps its lengthening effects still remain.

In Bird (1966), it was argued that since the definite article led to a rising configuration of low tone words and a step-down on following high tone words, the definite article could be analysed as a floating low tone. This analysis allowed for a fairly consistent segmental analysis of tone in Bambara, Maninka and Commercial Dyula of the Ivory Coast.

Additional research has uncovered a number of problems with this analysis which seems to show that the analysis is less appropriate for other dialects. In those cases, a lexicalist or suprasegmental analysis may be preferable to the segmental morphotonemic analysis proposed earlier.

The argument lies in the fact that a number of dialects have evolved new tonal configurations to circumvent a major neutralization of the definite-indefinite opposition. In the Bamako dialect, for example, it is impossible to express this opposition if the word following the noun phrase in question is low tone. The phonetic rule governing the rising of low tone words before other low tone words will operate regardless of whether the noun phrase is definite or not.

Dialects to the east and north, such as Segou, northern Beledugu and Kaarta, have developed a new system for marking definiteness. Indefinite nouns always remain in their unmarked form. That is, high tone words will have level high tone and low tone words will have level low tones. Following high tone words will follow the expected rules of tonal interaction. They will remain on the same level as preceding high tones, and, in the Bamako dialect at least, they will be slightly higher than preceding low tone words. Following low tones however take a falling configuration

	Segou
He saw no house	à má só yé
He saw no horse	à má sò yé
He saw no tree	à má jírí yé
He saw no woman	à má mùsò yé
He bought no house	à má só sân
He bought no horse	à má sò sân
He sold no house	à má só féerè
He sold no horse	à má sò féerè

Definite nouns, rather than being followed by a floating tone as in the original analysis, might better be regarded as having incorporated a low tone into their pitch configurations. Whatever the analysis, it seems that the tonal configurations of words from one dialect to another are quite consistent, taking into account the innovations discussed above.

c) Compound Tone

All the dialects examined have roughly the same tonal adjustment rules for compounds. This rule has generally two parts:

1. All members of a compound take on the tone of the first member, e.g.

female child	dén-músó

where mùsò becomes high tone.

school house (study house)	kàlàn-sò

where só becomes low tone.

knife handle	mùrù-kàlà

where the low tone of kàlà does not change.

2. When marked by the definite article, the last word of a compound (not the last syllable) becomes high tone, e.g.

the school house	kàlàn-sô
the knife handle	mùrù-kálâ

In some dialects as, for example, Sikasso, the last word of compounds will be high tone regardless of the definite or indefinite nature of the noun phrase.

We have used the term 'last word' in stating this principle of compound tone advisedly, since it is sufficiently indeterminate to allow for the complexities of these constructions. Compounds may have an internal hierarchical structure, and the differences in their internal structure will effect the operation of the tone rules. A compound may itself be formed from compounds, e.g.

bicycle (iron horse)	nɛ̀gɛ̀-sò
European bicycle	tùbàbù-nɛ̀gɛ̀-sò

When tùbàbù-nɛ̀gɛ̀-sò is made definite, the part which becomes high tone is not simply sò 'horse', but rather nɛ̀gɛ̀-sò 'bicycle'.

the European bicycle	tùbàbù-nɛ́gɛ́-sô

It is not clear at this point to what extent these patterns spread across the Mandekan dialects. Our information is restricted largely to the Bamako, Segou, Sikasso and San dialects.

We have chosen to not mark tone on the examples, except in those cases where it is relevant to our discussion. In no case have we included examples where the tones differ across dialects. Interested readers may therefore consult Bird and Kante (1977b) for the tones on specific items.

B. Morphology and Syntax

1. THE NOUN PHRASE

a) Pronouns

Following fairly well established usage, we refer to the two sets of pronouns as regular and emphatic.

i. Regular

There is considerable differentiation in the pronoun set across the dialects of Mandekan, particularly within the plural forms.

	Bamako	Wasulu	Dafin	Kayes	Gambia
I	ń	ń	ń	ń	ń
you	í	í	é	í	í
he/she	à	à	à	à	à
we	án	án	án	ǹ	ǹ
you (pl)	á(u)	áyí	á	álù	álí
they	ù	àyî	àa	î	î

ii. Emphatic

The emphatic pronouns show more variation than the regular ones. They often involve combinations of the emphatic marker (le, de, etc.) and the plural markers.

	Bamako	Wasulu	Dafin	Kayes	Gambia
I	nê	nê	nê	ńtè	ńtè
you	ê	ê	érè	ítè	ítè
he/she	àlê	àlê	àrê	àtê	àtê
we	áun	ánnî	ánnù	ǹtélù	ǹtélù
you (pl)	áù	áyì	áarè	álȕ	álîlélù
they	òlû	àyì/òyî	àarù	îtélù	îtélù

From Kita to the west, we find an inclusive second person plural pronoun:

	Sagabari	Xaso
we (incl.)	ílán	álán

b) The Definite Article

As described in ID2, a segmental morpheme is used to mark the definite article in most instances. From Kayes to the Casamance and into Bissau, the morpheme for the definite article is -o which occurs at the end of the noun phrase. In the Kuranko area, we find generally -e occurring in the same position. The definite article as -o is also found in Dafin and in the Koyaga dialects.

In the majority of eastern dialects: Bambara, Maninka, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast Dyula, the definite article has lost its segmental shape and is either marked by tone and vowel length, by tone alone, or has been completely lost. The tonal operation of the definite article in Bambara and Maninka is discussed in ID2. In Upper Volta Dyula, it seems to operate in much the same manner except that there is a marked lengthening of the last vowel of the definite form, regardless of the tone of the item bearing the definite tone, e.g.

	Dyula-Upper Volta
The river did not descend	baâ má jìgìn

c) The Plural Marker

The marker for plural varies considerably across Mandekan. In all the dialects, the plural marker occurs at the end of the noun phrase, preceded by the determiners (definite article or demonstrative) and is followed only by appositional modifiers. In Bambara, the plural marker is a low tone high back vowel, which creates a diphthong with the immediately preceding vowel. This morpheme created an orthographic problem in Bambara. There was a strong commitment to treat this marker as a suffix, but it could not be written as *-u* and attached directly to the preceding word. This was because if the plural were represented by *-u*, and nasalization were represented by a word final /n/, the rules of pronunciation would mark words ending in a nasalized vowel followed by the plural morpheme as having an intervocalic /n/, rather than a nasalized diphthong. The word for 'year', for example, phonetically [sã], is written *san*. If the plural marker was represented as *-u*, the plural form, 'years', would be written *sanu*. According to our pronunciation rules, this form would be pronounced [sanu] which is actually the Bambara word meaning 'gold'. The correct plural for *san* is however [sãu]. To circumvent this difficulty the orthographers opted to write the plural morpheme as *-w*, which means that *sanw* represents the approved spelling of 'years'.

Bambara has preserved some forms of the original plural *-lu*, as in the emphatic third person plural pronoun *òlû* and the plural demonstrative *nìnnû* (where the /l/ has assimilated to the word final nasal).

In the Wasulu, the plural marker is a low tone, high front vowel, operating much the same as the Bambara *-w*. The orthographic conventions for these forms have not yet been set. One might suggest the use of *-y*, to parallel the use of *-w* in Bambara.

In the Maninka of western Guinea and all dialects west of Kita, the plural marker is *lù*, which assimilates to word final nasals:

women	mùsólù
years	sǎnnù

It is important to note that in all these cases, the plural marker operates tonally as a separate word. Whereas suffixes take on the stem tone of the item to which they are attached, the plural morpheme is low tone and modifies the configurations of preceding low tone words to rising.

d) Possessives

The major characteristic of possessive constructions in Mandekan noun phrases is the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. These constructions are formally distinguished by a possessive linking morpheme in alienable constructions, whereas in inalienable constructions, there is no linking morpheme between possessor and possessed. Inalienable possession generally includes such relations as kinship terms and body parts. In most dialects of Mandekan, the inalienable construction also expresses the object in nominalizations whereas the alienable construction expresses the agent in such nominalizations:

The child's mother	dên bá
The man's leg	cɛ̌ sěn
The killing of the lion	jàrâ fàgàlî
The killing of the lion's	jàrâ ká fàgàlî

In the third example, the lion is the object of the killing. In the fourth example, the lion is doing the killing.

The linking morpheme takes a number of different shapes from one dialect to another:

	Bamako	Bougouni	Koyaga
my cow	ń ká mìsî	ń ná nísî	ń yá nìsíò
his cow	à ká mìsî	à lá nìsî	à yá nìsíò

Gingiss (1973) describes an opposition in Koyaga possessive constructions between general possession and possession of a part of a set, translating more or less as 'my share of X.' This might also be interpreted as emphatic possession, which one also finds in San. (Mandekan emphatic possession can be translated roughly with stress on the possessor in English: 'MY X' as opposed to someone else's.) In both Koyaga and San, this possessive marker is ta, e.g.

Koyaga

MY meat	ń tá sògóò
HIS meat	à tá sògóò

Some dialects have lost the alienable-inalienable opposition. In Kodugu of Upper Volta, there are numerous speakers who no longer employ a possessive link to distinguish alienable from inalienable possession, e.g.

Kodugu

his mother	à bá
his house	à sóò

In the northern commercial Dyula dialects of the Ivory Coast, the genitive marker ta has been generalized for most possessive constructions, e.g.

Bouake Dyula

his arm	à tá bóló
his house	à tá só

e) Emphatic Particles

The emphatic particles occur for the most part after noun phrases, marking the introduction of new information. In this sense their functions are very similar to stress in English. Three forms of the particle are found in the Mandekan dialects: *de* (in the Bambara regions), *le* (in the Maninka-Mandinka regions), and *lo* (in some of the Dyula regions).

	Bamako	Kita	Bouake
The *man* went	cɛ de taara	kɛ le tagara	cɛ lo taara

2. THE VERB PHRASE

The following phrase structure rule presents the constituents of the Mandekan verb phrase and their order of occurrence:

VP → (past) (Aux) (NP) (Adverb) (Verb) (PP)*

A verb phrase may thus consist of a past marker, an auxiliary, a noun phrase (NP), an adverb of a specific sort, a verb, and any number of postpositional phrases.

a) The Past Marker

In the Bambara dialects, one finds a past marker *tùn* preceding the auxiliaries.

	Bamako
He was here	a tun bɛ yan
He had left	a tun bɔra
He would have left	a tun na bɔ
He had cut the tree	a tun ye jiri tigɛ

In the Maninka dialects of Guinea and from Kita to the west, the form *tɛ̀rɛ* is used for marking the past. This word is related to the verb meaning 'find, get'.

	Kankan
He was here	a tɛrɛ ye yan

In the Kita region, the affirmative stative auxiliary drops out when tɛrɛ is present.

	Kita
He was here	a tɛrɛ yan

In some dialects, the intervocalic liquid drops out, leaving tɛɛ:

	Cɛkadugu
He was here	a tɛɛ yan

b) The Auxiliaries

We have established the following classification to cover the majority of forms observed in use across the Mandekan dialects. The labels given to these forms are not to be interpreted as semantically accurate nor to emanate from some implicit theory of tense and aspect.

i. The General Completive

All Mandekan dialects have a general completive auxiliary to characterize actions completed in the past or completed with some future or hypothetical point of reference. This form is classed 'general' because in most dialects it can replace all of the other forms of completive aspect. In all dialects examined, there is a distinction between transitive and intransitive affirmative forms, the latter being formed with a suffix:

	Bamako	Kankan	Wasulu
He drank water	a ye ji min	a ka ji min	a nɔ ji min
He left	a bɔ-ra	a bɔ-ra	a bɔ-da

In all dialects, the general completive negative is ma (also man/maŋ).

He didn't drink water	a ma ji min
He didn't leave	a ma bɔ

ii. The Recent Completive

eastern

As pointed out by Spears (1973), there is a distinction in the western Maninka dialects between the general completive and the recent completive (perhaps perfective?).

	Kankan/Wasulu
He has drunk the water	a bara ji min
He has left	a bara bɔ

The negative of the recent completive is the ma used for the general completive.

iii. The Hypothetical Completive

This auxiliary occurs in conditional sentences like the following:

If he leaves, I'll beat him.

Many dialects will use the general completive in this position, but a number of other auxiliaries are also found:

	Segou	Wasulu
If he should leave ...	a mana bɔ ...	n'a ka bɔ ...

iv. The Past Participles

This form differs syntactically from one dialect to another. In most Bambara dialects, this does not occur as a verb form, but as a past participle, operative out of noun phrases and requiring a predicating particle like don or bɛ:

	Bamako
He is seated	a sigilen bɛ

Other dialects seem to use this as a free standing verb form:

	Segou	Wasulu
He is tired	a sɛkɛn bɛ	a sɛkɛnen
They are dead	u san bɛ	u salen

In the Xaso and to the west, one finds these clearly occuring as stative verb forms:

	Xaso
He is seated	a bɛ siginin

The morphology of the past participle varies to some extent across dialects:

Bamako	Segou	Gambia
-len	-n	-riŋ

In Segou, the final vowel of the verb form is nasalized to produce the past participle, but only when it occurs in stative predications. When the past participle occurs as an adjective, it bears the full form of the suffix -len.

v. The General Noncompletive

In all dialects studied, there is a general timeless noncompletive auxiliary used for referring to conditions or states holding over an extended period of time which may be past, present, or future. In most dialects, it can be used for describing on-going action, habitual action, universal truths, and anticipated or future actions.

	Bamako	Kankan	Mande
it runs/is running	a bɛ boli	a ye borila	a ye bori

vi. Progressive

Most dialects have a number of means for referring to on-going action. The most widespread form consists of the noncompletive auxiliary (*bɛ* or *ye*) with the verb bearing a suffix *-la*.

	Bamako	Kankan
He is coming	a bɛ nala	a ye nala

In some dialects, this form may also characterize an activity that one is currently as opposed to existentially involved in. These dialects will have another form for the existential progressive.

vii. Future

The future can be expressed in most dialects by the noncompletive alone, however most dialects also have at least one specialized auxiliary for describing future or anticipated events.

	Bamako	Kankan	Xaso
He will come	a bɛ na na	a di na	a si na

Certain dialects have developed more subtle distinctions for referring to future actions. One finds instances of imminent future (i.e. to be about to do something) or futures with greater or lesser degrees of certainty (i.e. to be sure to do something). These will be discussed under each particular dialect where we have found them.

viii. Imperative

All dialects examined distinguish singular and plural imperatives. The singular imperative is generally the unmarked verb form. The plural imperative is formed by the second person plural pronoun and may or may not be accompanied by an auxiliary. The negative imperative is universally *kana* in Mandekan (or one of its proximate variants, e.g. kini, kinɛ).

	Bamako	Wasulu	Kayes
Come!	na!	na!	na!
Come! (pl.)	á yé nà!	áì yé nà!	álù nà!
Don't come!	kana na!	kana na!	xana na!
Don't come! (pl.)	âù kana na!	áì kana na!	álù xana na!

ix. Hortative

In many dialects, the hortative and the imperative are indistinct. There are however numerous cases where they are formally differentiated.

	Segou	Wasulu
May God help you	Ala ma i dɛmɛna	Ala kɛ i dɛmɛ

x. Subjunctive

Subjunctive is here used to refer to the subordinate auxiliary found in complements to verbs like *sɔn* 'agree', e.g. I agreed that Fanta should go.

	Bamako	Wasulu
I agreed that Fanta should go	n sɔnna Fanta ka taa	n sɔnna Fanta ye taga

The negative subjunctive is the same as the negative imperative, kana or one of its variants.

xi. Infinitive

The infinitive is that form of the verb used in subjectless complements (e.g. I want to go) and in certain kinds of nominalizations (e.g. To learn English is hard). In all the dialects investigated, the infinitival auxiliary is ka.

	Bamako	Mande
I want to go	n bɛ a fɛ ka taa	n ye a fɛ ka taga

3. POSTPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

The following phrase structure rules characterize the general syntactic structures of all Mandekan dialects:

1. S → NP VP
2. VP → (Aux) (NP) (Verb) (PP)*

The first rule states that a sentence consists of a noun phrase (functioning as the subject) followed by a verb phrase. The second rule is a simplified version of the rule given in IIB. It states that a verb phrase consists of an optional auxiliary which may be followed by a noun phrase (functioning as the object). The verb follows the noun phrase object. After the verb may occur any number of postpositional phrases.

The postpositional phrases bear much of the information expressed in the sentence. Many of the adverbs of time, place and manner are formed by postpositional phrases. In addition, other kinds of information important to the meaning of the sentence is expressed by postpositional phrases. Mandekan, like English and French, associates certain postpositions with certain verbs grammatically. That is, the relation between the postposition and the verb is not semantic, and thus must be memorized with the verb. The relation of the preposition 'to' to the verb 'give' in English is grammatical. So too is the relation between 'à' and the verb 'donner' in French. In a parallel manner, the relation between the postposition *ma* and the verb *di* 'give' is also grammatical. It is precisely in these cases where the relation between the verb and a particular postposition is grammatical rather than semantic that we find variation among the Mandekan dialects, e.g.

	Bambara	Mandinka
Give X to Y	X di Y ma	X di Y la

Much of the interdialect variation of postpositions is at the level of particular lexical items and is often sporadic and irregular. We have not chosen to include this information in this study. The few cases which follow are more regular and serve to mark important boundaries between dialects.

a) General Locative Postpositions

Some of the postpositions have interesting phonological variants across dialects. The most obvious case is the general locative postposition serving to express the meanings of 'in, at, to, on' in locative expressions.

	Bamako	Segou	Wasulu	Mande	Xaso
in Mali	Mali la	Mali ra	Mali dɔ	Mali rɔ	Mali tɔ

b) The Relational Postposition

The relational postposition occurs in the predicate of predicate nominals as well as in other constructions. It varies considerably over

Mandekan dialects, e.g.

	Bamako	Wasulu	Xaso
It became two	a kɛra fila ye	a kɛra fila di	a kɛta fula ti

4. SENTENCE TYPES

All Mandekan dialects have a number of nonverbal sentence types, that is, sentences in which there is no verb. These sentence types vary considerably over the Mandekan dialects and serve to mark interesting dialect boundaries. The cases we will examine can be classified as follows:

1. Identification (It is an X)
2. Predicate Nominal (X is a Y)
3. Predicate Adjective (X is big/red/tall)
4. Existential (There is X)
5. Locative (X is in/on/at Y)

a) Identification

In the Mandekan dialects, this sentence type consists of a subject noun phrase followed by a predicative particle, the form of which varies considerably from one dialect to another.

	Bamako	Sikasso	Bissau	Kankan
It's a house	só dòn	so lò	sú lò mù	sú lè
It's not a house	só tɛ́	só tɛ́	sú ntɛ́n	sú tɛ́

Gingiss (1973) suggests that the source of this construction is represented by the Bissau form above. This consists of a noun phrase followed by the emphatic particle (lo), followed by the independent auxiliary, mu. All of the forms that we have observed may be historically explained from this source.

This construction is universally negated with *tɛ* (or its variants *ntɛ*, *ntɛn*).

b) Predicate Nominals

Predicate nominals consist of a noun phrase subject, and usually, but not always, an auxiliary. The auxiliary is in turn followed by a postpositional phrase with a relational postposition.

	He is a student.
Bamako:	a ye kalanden ye
Dyula:	a bɛ kalanden ye
Mande:	a ye karanden di
Wasulu:	a karanden di
Xaso:	a mu xarandino le ti

c) Predicate Adjectives

The basic form for predicate adjectives consists of the base form of the adjective preceded by an auxiliary. Throughout the Mandekan dialects the adjectival auxiliary is *ka* (*xa* in the Xaso). The negative form is *man* in all dialects.

A number of dialects seem to have developed an alternate predicate adjective construction from the appositional construction. In Bambara, the idea of 'the good woman' can be expressed by the identification construction in which the subject noun phrase includes an apposition, e.g. *mùsô* *nyùmán* *dòn*. This sentence can be glossed as 'It's the woman, the good one'; this device can be used to express the idea, 'The woman is good.' This alternative has apparently led to a reanalysis of this construction in which the apposition is interpreted as the predicate, with the predicating particle being lost.

	Kankan
The water is deep	jî dùnman (ne)

The negation of this construction continues to be expressed at the end of the sentence, indicating that the construction is still at least partially appositional.

	Kankan
The water is not deep	jî dùnman tɛ

It is to be noted that this process of syntactic reanalysis from apposition to predication is precisely the same in the use of past and present participles. In Bambara, the past and present participles occur as appositional modifiers in noun phrases. In the Maninka dialects, past and present participles occur as predicates without auxiliaries.

	Bamako	Wasulu
He is going out	a bɔtɔ don	a bɔtɔ
He is seated	a sigilen bɛ	a sigilen

In Mandinka, the past participial construction has been completely reanalysed so that the auxiliary occurs before the past participle, e.g.

	Mandinka
He is seated	a bɛ siriŋ

d) The Existential Predicate

The existential predicate consists of a noun phrase subject followed by the auxiliary *bɛ* or *ye* depending on the dialect. The negation is generally *tɛ*, or *tɛ*/*cɛ* *nin* in those dialects where double negation is found.

	Bamako	Baninko
There is heat	funtɛni bɛ	funtɛni ye
There isn't heat	funtɛni tɛ	funtɛni cɛ nin

e) Locative Predicates

In a great many dialects, the auxiliaries for the existential and the locative are the same. That is, in those dialects where we find bɛ in the existential, we can expect to find bɛ in the locative. There are however enough cases where this does not hold, making this a significant marker of dialect difference.

	Bamako	Wasulu	Baninko
He's at the river	a bɛ ba la	aː ba rɔ	a ye ba la
He isn't at the river	a tɛ ba la	a tɛ ba rɔ	a tɛ ba la

IV THE REGIONS

A. THE BAMBARA

The dialects spread from the Baule River in the west to the Upper Volta border in the east. In the north, they extend far up into the Sahel with isolated villages interspersed among the Fula and Soninke. The Bambara constitute a large portion of the population of the Mopti region and they have established a large number of settlements north of the city of Mopti. Their southern limits are roughly a line from Bamako southeasterly to Sikasso. There are however extensive southern penetrations down into Guinée and the Ivory Coast. There is in fact no discrete boundary between Bambara and the Standard Dyula dialects of Upper Volta and the Ivory Coast. We could easily have included Dyula as a dialect of Bambara, but we have chosen to keep them separate for political reasons. The cultural center of the Bambara dialect cluster is Segou. It would be impossible however to argue that the speech of Segou represents some older, purer form of the language, as many Segou partisans are inclined to do. A brief glance at the enormous variation within the Bambara cluster indicates that no existing dialect could possibly represent anything close to the proto-Bambara dialect. Given this situation, we have chosen to organize our presentation of the dialects geographically, starting from the north, west of the Niger River and working our way down to Sikasso. There does not imply a commitment to historical, linguistic or social precedence.

A1. Kala-Kuruma

Kala and Kuruma are traditional regions to the west of the Niger River. Kuruma is directly to the west of Macina. Kala is directly to the south of Kuruma. This has been since prehistoric times an area of intense cultural mixing. Bambara villages exist here side by side with Fula and Soninke populations. This contact has had a considerable influence on all the languages involved.

A. The Sounds

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences of f:p:h, this area has primarily /f/, with a few instances of /p/.

better	psa / bisa / fsa / fusa
thin	pasa
two	fla
cloth	fini
blow	fyɛ / fiyɛ
blow up	funu
father	fa
fault	finyɛ / šɛn

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences of d:l, this area has primarily /d/.

root	dili / gli
lie down	da
star	dolo
stop	dɔ / jɔ
honey	di
stranger	dnan / gnan

c) Palatalizations

i. In the correspondences of c:t:k, this area has the following:

handsome	cɛnyi
man	cɛ
sand	cɛncɛn
bite	kin
break	ti / ci
slide	tyɛnɛ / cɛnɛ
middle	cɛ

ii. In the correspondence of s:š, resulting from the modification of a medial palatal, this area has primarily /š/.

bean	šɔ
chicken	šɛ
time	sinyɛ / šyɛn / šɛn

iii. In the correspondences of s:š before high vowels, this area generally has /š/.

hair	ši
shea butter	ši
corpse	šu

d) Palatals

In the correspondences of j:y, we find the following:

show	jira
fry	jiran
tree	jiri

here	yan
see	ye

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the correspondences of gb:gw:g, etc., we find primarily /g/.

kitchen	gabugu
hard	gɛlɛn
bad	go / ko
skin	wolo
heavy	giri

ii. In the correspondences of k:x, we find /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kaši
back	kɔ
bird	kɔnɔ

iii. In the correspondences of ŋ:ŋw, etc., we find primarily /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋɛnyɛ / gwɛnyɛ
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋɔni

f) Prenasals

The prenasals are retained before /t/ and /k/, but in the correspondences between ns:nz:z, we find /z/.

i. ns:nz:s:z, etc.

We find primarily /z/ with a few instances of /s/, and more rarely /ž/.

watermelon	zɛrɛ
thief	zon
rust	zon / žon
rabbit	sonzan

ii. nt:nd:t:d

In these correspondences, we find primarily /nt/ alternating with /nd/.

spider	ndalendalen
Monday	ntɛnɛn / ndɛnɛn
toad	tɔri / ntɔri / ndɔri
grasshopper	ntɔn / ndɔn

iii. nk:ng:g:k

In these correspondences we find /ng/.

squirrel	ngɛlɛn
lie	ngalon
cricket	ngɛɛrɛn
lute	ngɔni

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In the correspondences between b:g:w, etc., this area has generally /g/.

benediction	dugawu
meat	sogo
dream	sogo / soko
dove	nduga
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between t:d:r, this area has /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	surun
thigh	woro

c) Liquids

In the correspondences between r:l, this area shows the following:

five	duuru
rope	juru
canoe	kurun
fear	siran
run	boli
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	gala

d) Palatals

In the complex correspondences of palatal nasals, this area generally shows no intervocalic consonant, but rather the palatalization of the initial.

truth	cyɛn
sand	cɛn / cɛncɛn
time	šɛn / šyɛn / sinyɛ

e) Velars

Velar obstruents between low back vowels have generally dropped out, resulting in some cases in diphthongs. In other cases we find /k/ alternating with /g/.

salt	kwa
name	twa
sleep	šunaa
sit	sigi
leave	taa
kill	faa

f) Nasal plus Consonant Clusters

The only nasal plus consonant cluster found in this area is ns:nz. In all the other cases, the clusters correspond to their simple nasal counterpart.

health	kɛnɛ
drum	dunun
crocodile	bama
pass	tɛmɛ
force	faŋa
hunger	kɔŋɔ
hunter	donzo
rabbit	sonzan

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In general, vowel reduction takes place in this area and frequently this has resulted in initial consonant change.

i. tl:kl

This area shows considerable variation between speakers between both forms.

share	klan / tlan
sun	kle / tle
ear	klo / tlo
game	klon / tlon

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
age mate	flan
look	flɛ

iii. bl

entry	blon
put down	bla
red	blen

iv. dl:gl

As with tl:kl, we find considerable variation between speakers with a slight preference towards /dl/.

beer	dlɔ / glɔ
hang	dlon / glon
fix	dla / gla

b) Vowel Nasalization

In isolated words there is often loss of nasalization, frequently with compersatory lengthening on monosyllables.

thief	zon / zo:
one	kelen / kele
neck	kan / ka:
child	den / de:

c) The Raising of /-a/

In the correspondences between word final /a/ and /ɛ/, this area shows /ɛ/.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ
truth	cyɛn

d) The Raising of /o/ and /e/

This process has not operated in the area

child	den
arrive	se
arm	bolo
horse	so

4. Tone

The tonal system works according to the Segou system described in ID2.

B. Morphology and Syntax

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
à	ale
an	an-u (i.e. ãu)
á	au
u	olu/oru

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is tonal and functions as in Segou.

He didn't buy the cloth.	à má fìnî sàn.
He didn't buy cloth	à má fìnì sân.

c) The Plural Marker

As in most Bambara dialects, the plural marker is ù.

woman	mùsô
women	mùsóù
child	dén
children	dén-ù

d) The Possessive Marker

The marker for alienable possession is ka.

his knife	a ka muru
my money	n ka wari

e) The Emphatic Particle

In this area, the emphatic particle is dè.

The WOMAN came	mùsó dè nànà

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

The past marker in this area is generally kùn with occasional instances of tùn.

He was farming	a kun bi sɛnɛ kɛ

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

Transitive Affirmative: yé

Transitive Negative: má / mɛ́

He drank water	a ye ji min
He didn't drink water	a mɛ ji min

Intransitive Affirmative: -ra

Intransitive Negative: má / mɛ́

He left	a bɔra
He didn't leave	a mɛ bɔ

ii. Past Participials

There are two forms of predication involving the past participle. The first uses the existential auxiliary bɛ, the second uses the identificational auxiliary do. Both are negated by tɛ.

He is tired	a sɛgɛn bɛ
He is dead	a salen do
He isn't tired	a sɛgɛn tɛ

iii. Hypothetical Completive

In our corpus this form was rendered by ni plus the general completive.

If he goes out...	n'a bɔra...

iv. General Noncompletive

As in all northern Bambara dialects, this is marked with bi in the affirmative and ti in the negative.

He goes	a bi taa
He doesn't go	a ti taa

v. Progressive

The form most prevalent in our corpus was the following:

He is coming	a bi a la ka na	(a b'a la ...)
He is not coming	a ti a la ka na	(a t'a la ...)

vi. Future

He will go out	a bi na bɔ
He will not go out	a ti na bɔ

vii. Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
Leave! (plural)	a ye bɔ!
Don't leave!	a kana bɔ!

viii. Subjunctive

Generally, one finds kɛ with occasional instances of ka.

I want him to leave	n b'a fɛ a kɛ bɔ

ix. Infinitive

Like the subjunctive, the infinitive is generally kɛ.

I want to leave	n b'a fɛ kɛ bɔ

x. Hortative

The hortative is expressed with the same auxiliary as the subjunctive.

May God help you!	Ala kɛ i dɛmɛ

2. Postpositions

a) Locative: la/ra

He is in the field a bi folo la

b) Relational: ye

He became a smith	a kɛra numu ye

c) Dative: ma

Give this to the child!	nin di den ma!

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

The affirmative auxiliary is do; the negative is tɛ.

It's the smith	numu do
It's not a smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

He is a smith	a ye numu ye
He is not a smith	a ti numu ye

c) Predicate Adjective

It is good	a kɛ di
it's not good	a men di

d) Existentials

In these dialects, the existential auxiliary is bɛ, with the negative tɛ. The vowel is different from the general noncompletive, bi/ti.

It's cold	nɛnɛ bɛ
It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

These are the same as the general noncompletive: bi/ti

He is in the field	a bi foro la
he is not in the field	a ti foro la

A2. Banamba (Dugu Wolonwula) and Mesekele

Banamba is a traditional town about mid point between Kolokani and Nyamina. It was the center of a traditional grouping of seven villages, hence Dugu Wolonwula. Three of the villages in this grouping are Soninke: Kiban, Touba, Keruwane. The remaining four villages were Bambara: Tawon, Dankono, Dufinya and Banamba.

Mesekele is the traditional region on the west bank of the Niger River facing Segou. It has long been under the social, political, economic and cultural influence of Segou. As one might expect, this dialect is hardly distinguishable from Segou.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternations /f/, /p/, /h/, these regions have generally /f/.

two	fla	
cloth	fini	
blow	fyɛ	
thin	pasa	(without exception)

b) Alveolars

i. In the alternation of /d/ and /l/, one finds generally /d/.

lie down	da
star	dolo
honey	di

ii. In the alternations of /d/, /l/ and /j/, one finds the following:

stop	jɔ

c) Palatalizations

i. The forms of Bambara /c/ corresponding to /t/ and /k/ in other dialects are widespread.

man	cɛ
good looks	cɛnyumɛn
sand	cɛncɛn
bite	cin / kin
heritage	cɛn / cyɛn (rarely tinyɛ)
truth	cɛn / cyɛn

ii. Palatalizations of /s/ resulting from the modification of intervocalic consonants generally result in /šy/.

bean	šyɔ
swear	šyɛn
chicken	šyɛ
scratch	šyɛn
time	šyɛn

iii. Palatalizations of /s/ before high vowels are frequent in both regions.

hair	ši
seed	ši
shea	ši
age	či
corpse	šu
eight	šeegin / sɛkin

The specific conditions for the operation of this rule are difficult to determine. For example, the following are not found palatalized.

tie	siri
baobab	sira
sit	sigi

iv. One finds frequent instances of /š/ in words like:

better	šwa ~ fusa ~ wusa

d) Palatals

In the alternations of /j/ and /y/, one finds the following:

show	jira
fry	jiran
tree	jiri
here	yan
see	ye

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the alternations of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., one finds generally /gw/.

kitchen	gwa
hard	gwɛlɛ
bad	ko (some instances of go in Banamba)
skin	wolo (rarely golo)
heavy	gwiri

ii. In the alternation of /k/ and /x/, these regions have /k/.

neck	kaa
cry	kasi
man	cɛ
back	kɔ

iii. There is substantial variation with the correspondences of /ŋ/. One finds correspondences to /g/, /ŋg/, /ŋ/, /ŋw/, and /m/.

hero	ŋgana / gana / ŋana
rash	ŋwɛnyɛ / gɛnyɛ / ŋɔnyɛ / manya
crawl	ŋunuma / munuma
thorn	ŋgɔni / ŋwɔni / ŋoni

f) Prenasals

The prenasalized stops are generally preserved, but frequently voiced. Prenasalized /s/ is often rendered as /z/ with the loss of the nasal.

i. z

watermelon	zɛrɛ
baobab	zira (sometimes sira)
thief	zoo
rabbit	sozaa / sonzaa (no instances of /z/)

ii. nk : ng

squirrel	ngɛlɛ
lie	ngalo
cricket	ngɛɛrɛ
lute	ngɔni
bitter tomato	ngɔyɔ (rarely ŋɔyɔ)
dew	ŋgɔmi
baboon	gɔɔ / gɔn

iii. nt : nd

/nt/ and /nd/ have equal instances of occurrence.

Monday	ndɛnɛɛ / ntɛnɛ / ntnɛ
toad	ndɔri / ntɔri
grasshopper	ndɔn / ntɔn
oil palm	nde (more rarely nte)

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In the variants /b/, /g/, /w/, /gb/, etc., one finds generally /g/ or more rarely /k/.

benediction	dugawu / dugɔ
meat	sogo
dream	sogo
dove	nduga (rarely ntufa)
vulture	duga

b) Alveolar Stops

i. In those cases of variation between /t/, /d/ and /r/, one generally finds /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	suru

c) Liquids

These regions are clearly marked as Bambara by the distribution of /l/ and /r/.

five	duuru
rope	juru
heavy	girin / gwiri
canoe	kurun

run	boli
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	gala

d) Velar Stops

i. In general, velar stops are lost between two instances of /a/ or /ɔ/. Otherwise /g/ and /k/ seem to freely alternate.

sit	sigi / siki
eight	šeegin / šeekin
twenty	mugan / muka
go	taa
kill	faa

ii. The dropping of the velar between two instances of /ɔ/ triggers a further change, resulting in /aa/ or /wa/.

	Banamba	Mesekela
salt	kwa	kwa / kɔkɔ
name	cwa	twa / cwa / tɔkɔ
small	jwa / dwa	dwa / jwa / dɔkɔ
person	maa	maa
sleep	sunaa	sunaa / sunɔgɔ
together	nyɔɔn / nyɔwan / nywan	

e) Palatals

Medial palatal nasals are generally reduced to /y/ followed by a nasalized vowel. This again frequently reduces to a palatalization of the initial consonant.

blow	fyɛ / fiyɛ
fault	fyɛn / fiyɛn

truth	cɛn / cyɛn
time	šɛn / šyɛn

There are a few instances of the correspondence of fisa 'better' to šuwa.

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

All nasal + consonant clusters have a tendency to reduce to nasals, although /ng/ alternates with /ŋ/.

In the main /nz/ reduces to /z/.

elephant	sama
dew	ngɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ
drum	dunu
bush	kɔŋɔ / kɔŋgɔ
hunter	dozo / donzo
rabbit	sozaa / sonzaa

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

These areas are marked by vowel reduction and subsequent initial consonant change. It is clearly a transitional area with a great deal of variation

i. kl

	General	Dieko
share	kla	tla
sun	kle	tle
ear	klo	tlo
game	klon	tlon

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
age mate	flan

iii. bl

entry hut	blo
leave	bla
red	blema

iv. gl : dl

	General	Dieko
beer	glɔ	dlɔ
hang	glon	dlon
repair	gla	dla
gown	gloki	dlɔki
lake	gla	dla
root	gli	gli / bli

b) Vowel Nasalization

Words in isolation tend to drop final vowel nasalization. The nasal is however expressed when the word is used in context.

neck	kan / kaa
thief	soo
child	de
one	kele

c) Raising of Final /a/

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ
rainy season	samiyɛ / saminyɛ

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in these regions.

child	de:
one	kele:
woman	muso
horse	so

4. Tone

The tone system is as described for the Segou region.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
a	ale
an	anw
á	aw
u	olu (also ulu)

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is tonal and operates as described for the Segou region.

c) The Plural Marker

after nasals	-ù:	breasts	šin-u
elsewhere	-ù:	snakes	săù

d) Possessives

ka:	his knife	a ka muru
	my money	n ka wari

e) Emphatic Particle

The emphatic particle is de.

The WOMAN left	muso de bɔra

2. The Verb Phrase

a) Past

The past marker is kùn.

He was farming	a kun bɛ ka ci kɛ

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans.:	ye (rarely ya)	He drank water	a ye ji mi
	ma / mɛ	He didn't drink water	a mɛ ji mi
intrans.:	-ra	He went out	a bɔra
	ma / mɛ	He didn't go out	a ma bɔ

ii. Past Participial

We have no examples of this in our corpus.

iii. Hypothetical Completive

This is expressed in our data by ni followed by the general completive.

If he comes out...	n'a bɔra...

iv. General Noncompletive

bi/bɛ:	He drinks water	a bi ji mi
ti/tɛ:	He doesn't drink water	a ti ji mi

v. **Future**

bi na	He will leave	a bi na bɔ
ti na	He won't leave	a ti na bɔ

vi. **Progressive**

bi ka/bɛ ka	He is going out	a bɛ ka bɔ
ti ka/tɛ ka	He isn't going out	a tɛ ka bɔ

vii. **Imperative**

Leave!	bɔ!
Leave! (pl.)	á yé bɔ́!
Don't leave!	á kana bɔ!

viii. **Hortative**

ka:	May God pay you	Ala k'i sara

ix. **Subjunctive**

ka:	I want him to leave	n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ

x. **Infinitive**

ka:	I want to leave	n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. **Postpositions**

a) The general locative is la, with a few instances of lɔ.

He's at the farm	a bi foro la

b) The relational postposition is ye

He became a smith	a kɛra numu ye

4. **Sentence Types**

a) **Identity**

It's the smith	numu do
It's not the smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

Madu is the smith	Madu ye numu ye
Madu isn't the smith	Madu tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjectives

It's good	a ka nyi
it's not good	a man nyi

d) Existential

It's cold	nɛnɛ bɛ
It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

He's in the field	a bɛ foro la
He's not in the field	a tɛ foro la

A3. Beledugu

The Beledugu is a vast traditional region extending north of Bamako from Kati and Negela in the southwest. The western border is established by the Baoule River; up to Sebekoro, then across to Didieni. The northern boundary is roughly a line between Didieni and Madina-Sako. The eastern boundary is the Mesekele Region, beginning roughly at a line extending from Madina-Sako down to Sirakorola.

The population of the Beledugu region refers to itself generally as Bambara, although there are many Fula and Soninke well established in the area.

The following features characterize the speech of the Beledugu.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternation of /f/, /p/, /h/, the Beledugu generally has /f/, with occasional instances of /p/.

	Nonsondugu
father	fa
cloth	fini
two	fila / xla
thin	pasa / fasa

b) Alveolars

i. In the alternation of /d/ and /l/, one finds primarily /d/.

lie down	da
star	dolo
honey	di

ii. In the alternation of /d/, /l/ and /j/, one finds the following:

stop	jɔ
give	di

c) Palatalizations

i. There are numerous instances of the palatalization of /k/ and /t/.

aspect	cɛ
man	cɛ
sand	ncɛncɛn
bite	cin (sometimes kin)
do	kɛ (without exception)
heritage	cɛn
slide	cɛnɛ (sometimes tirinti)
between	cɛ
truth	cɛn

ii. In those cases where a palatalized /s/ arises from the modification of a medial consonant, Beledugu has by and large /sy/, /šy/, and /š/.

bean	šɔ
swear	syɛn
chicken	šyɛ / syɛ
scratch	syan / san
time	syan / sinyan / senya

iii. The Beledugu, as many areas to the west of the Niger, has another set of processes arriving at a palatalized /š/.

Words like 'better' fusa are modified to fuya, fya then /f/ changes to /š/, resulting in šwa.

	Wolojedɔ	Kolokani	Womana
better	fiya / fisa	wusa	šwa
breath	fya	fyɛ	šwɛ
fault	finyɛ	syɛn	šyɛn

iv. In the palatalization of /s/ by a following **high** front vowel, the Beledugu has the non-palatalized forms.

hair	si
age	si
cow	misi
tomorrow	sini

d) Palatals

In the alternations of /j/ and /y/, one finds the following:

show	jira
fry	jiran
tree	jiri
here	yan
see	ye

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the alternation of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, one tends to find /gw/ before front vowels and /g/ elsewhere.

kitchen	gwa / ga
hard	gwɛlɛn
bad	ko / kwo / go
skin	wolo
heavy	gwiri / girin

ii. In the alternation of /k/ and /x/, the Beledugu has /k/.

neck	kan
back	kwɔ
belly	kɔnɔ

f) Prenasals

Almost all the prenasalized forms remain intact.

i. ns : nz

In most cases, one finds /nz/ or /z/.

watermelon	zɛrɛ
baobab	nzira
rust	nzo

Two forms are commonly found denasalized.

thief	soo
rabbit	sozanni

ii. nk : ng

squirrel	nkɛlɛ
lie	nkalo
cricket	nkɛɛrɛ / ngɛɛrɛ
lute	nkɔni
dew	nk̀ɔmi
baboon	gɔ̀ɔ

iii. nt : nd

toad	ntɔri / ndɔri
grasshopper	ntɔn
oil palm	nte
Monday	ntɛnɛ / dɛnɛ / ntnɛn

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In the variants /b/, /g/, /w/, /gb/, one finds the following:

benediction	dubabu (also duwabu, dugabu)
meat	sogo (sometimes soko)
dream	sogo (sometimes soko)
dove	ntufa
vulture	dufa (rarely duga)

b) Alveolar Stops

In those cases of variation between /r/, /d/, /t/, one generally finds /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	suru

c) Liquids

The Beledugu is marked as clearly Bambara by the distribution of /l/ and /r/.

five	duuru
rope	juru
heavy	girin
canoe	kuru
fear	siràn
run	boli (rarely boyi)
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	gala
rot	toli (often toyi)

d) Velar Stops

In general, /g/ and /k/ have dropped out between two /a/'s or /ɔ/'s. Otherwise one finds /g/ or /k/.

sit	sigi
eight	segin / seekin
twenty	mukan / mugan
go	taa
kill	faa

The dropping of the velar between two /ɔ/'s triggers a subsequent sound change, resulting in /aa/ or /wa/.

salt	kwa
name	cwa (sometimes tɔgɔ)
small	jwa (sometimes dɔgɔ/dwa)
sleep	sunaa
person	maa

e) Palatals

In most instances, medial palatal nasals have been modified to palatalize the initial consonant.

blow	fyɛ
fault	fyɛn
heritage	cɛn
truth	cɛn
swear	šyɛn / syɛn
time	syɛn / šyɛn / sinyan / senya

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

All nasal + consonant clusters have a tendency to reduce.

Nasals plus stops reduce to nasals. Nasals plus /s/ reduce to /z/.

elephant	sama
dew	nkɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ
hole	diŋɛ
power	faŋa
hunter	dozo
rabbit	soza

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

The Beledugu is marked by vowel reduction and rather special rules of consonant modification.

i. tl : xl : fl

It seems plausible that /tl/ modified as in other Bambara dialects to /kl/. /kl/ then underwent fricativization to /xl/. /xl/ then modified to /fl/. In our data, /fl/ is the most general form.

share	fla (also xla, tla)
sun	fle (also xle, tle)
ear	flo (also xlo, tlo)
game	flon (also xlon, tlon)

ii. fl

/fl/ generally remains unchanged. Where /xl/ is attested above, one can find occasional instances of /xl/:/fl/.

two	fla (xla)
age mate	flaa (xlaa)
Fula	fla (xla)

iii. bl

entry hut	blon
leave, let	bla
red	blen

iv. dl : bl

One finds almost without exception /bl/.

beer	blɔ
hang	blo
repair	bla (rarely dla)
gown	blɔki
lake	bla

The word for 'root' however is without exception gili.

b) Vowel Nasalization

Nasalization tends to be replaced by vowel lengthening of words in isolation, but returns when the word is followed by another item.

neck	kaa	big neck	kan ba
child	dee	big child	den ba
head	kuu	big head	kun ba
one	kele	just one	kelen pe

c) Raising of Final /a/.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyɛnɛ
rainy season	sɛminya / saminya / ɔiminya

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/.

This process does not operate in the Beledugu.

child	de
one	kele
leg	se
fall	bi
enter	do
woman	muso
horse	so

4. Tone

The tone system is quite similar to Segou Bambara as described in the introduction. The tone intervals seem however to be more highly marked, giving a rather distinct quality to the intonation patterns.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	né
i	é
a	àlê
an (also un)	ánẁ (also únẁ)
aw	áẁ
u	ùû (sometimes olu)

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is expressed tonally as in Segou Bambara.

c) The Plural Marker

After nasals	-ù:	breasts	sin-ù
Elsewhere	-ù:	snakes	sǎù

d) Possessives

We found /la/ in the region of Nossondugu and /ka/ elsewhere.

	Nossondugu	Elsewhere
his knife	a la muru	a ka muru
my money	n na wari	n ka wari

e) Emphatic Particle

The emphatic particle is dè.

It's the WOMAN who left	moso de bɔra

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

The past marker is generally kùn.

He was here	a kun bi ya

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans.:	ya	He drank water	a ya ji mi
	ma	He didn't drink water	a ma ji mi

One finds some instances of ye for ya, and not infrequently, mɛ for ma. In some cases, the pronoun à may absorb the auxiliary ya:

He drank water	a: ji mi

Intrans.:	-ra	He left	a bɔra
	ma	He didn't leave	a ma bɔ

ii. Past Participial

This form of the verb is never an independent predicate. It requires either don or bɛ.

He is dead	a sale don
He isn't dead	a salen tɛ

iii. Hypothetical Completive

In our data, this is generally formed with ni followed by the general completive.

Should he come out ...	n'a bɔra ...

iv. General Noncompletive

bi / ti

He is leaving	a bi bɔ
He isn't leaving	a ti bɔ

It should be pointed out that the rule of nasal assimilation operates frequently from pronouns to auxiliaries.

I am leaving	n mi bɔ

v. Future

(bi) na / ti na

He will leave	a bi na bɔ
He won't leave	a ti na bɔ

The future can often be replaced by the general noncompletive.

vi. Progressive

Two forms are found:

bɛnka:	He is leaving	a bɛnka bɔ / a bɛŋga bɔ
tɛnka:	He isn't leaving	a tɛnka bɔ / a tɛŋga bɔ

bɛ (NP) V-la:	He is leaving	a bɛ bɔla
tɛ (NP) V-la:	He isn't leaving	a tɛ bɔla

vii. The Imperative

Leave!	bwɔ! (or bɔ!)
Leave! (pl.)	a ye bwɔ!
Don't leave! (pl.)	a' kana bwɔ́!

In some cases, the pronoun á is lengthened, incorporating the auxiliary: áa bɔ.

viii. Hortative

ka: May God save you   Ala k'i kisi

ix. Subjunctive

ka: I want him to leave   n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ

x. Infinitive

ka: I want to leave   n b'a fɛ ka bo

3. Postpositions

a) The general locative is lɔ (nɔ after nasal)

Madu is in the field   Madu bɛ foro lɔ

b) The relation postposition is ye.

Madu is a blacksmith   Madu ye numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identity

don / tɛ

It's the blacksmith	numu don
It's not the blacksmith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

Madu is the smith	Madu ye numu ye
Madu isn't the smith	Madu tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjective

It's good	a ka di
It's not good	a man di

d) Existential

bɛ / tɛ:

It's cold	nɛnɛ bɛ
It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

bɛ:	Madu is in the field	Madu bɛ foro lɔ
tɛ:	Madu isn't in the field	Madu tɛ foro lɔ

A4. San Region (Marka-jalan)

In the area of San and Tominian there is a dialect referred to as Marka-jalan. The western border of this dialect is the Bani River. The Bobo communities of Parana, Tominian and Fangasso constitute the eastern limits. The town of San defines the southern extensions and Baramandougou, the northern limits. The Marka-jalan area extends over the flood plain of the right bank of the Bani River in the traditional cantons of Tiondougou and Kodougou.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences of /f/, /p/ and /h/, there is a strong tendency towards /p/.

better	pisa
thin	pasa
cloth	peni
father	pa
fonio	foni
blow up	funu
two	fla

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /d/ and /l/, Marka-jalan has /d/.

root	diri
lie down	da
star	doro
honey	di

stranger	donan
stop	dɔ

c) Palatalizations

i. In the correspondences between /c/ and /k/, one finds generally /c/.

man	cε
sand	cεncεn
bite	cin
handsome	cεnyi

ii. In the correspondences between /c/ and /t/ however, one finds generally /ty/ or /t/.

truth	tinyε
break	ti
slide	tεεrε
muddle	tyε

iii. In the correspondences of /s/ and /š/ resulting from the modification of a medial consonant, one finds /s/.

bean	sɔsɔ
chicken	sisε
scratch	sinyε / san
time	sinyε

iv. There are no cases of /s/ palatalizing before high vowels.

hair	si
shea	se
age	si
corpse	su

d) Palatals

In the correspondences between /j/ and /y/, one finds the following:

show	jira
fry	jiran
tree	jiri
here	yan
see	ye

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the correspondences of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., one finds /g/ and /gw/.

kitchen	gaso
hard	gɛrɛn / gwɛrɛn
skin	woro
heavy	girin / gwirin

ii. In the correspondences of /k/ and /x/, one finds /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kɔ
bird	kɔnɔ

iii. In the correspondences of /ŋ/, /ŋw/, etc., one finds /ŋ/ and /ŋw/.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋɛnyɛ / ŋwɛnyɛ
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋɔni / ŋwɛni

f) Prenasals

For the most part, the prenasal elements have been lost, leaving voiceless consonants. The few prenasalized forms found may well be fairly recent borrowings, such as:

grasshopper	ntɔn / tɔn
Monday	ntɛnɛn / tɛnɛn
oil palm	nten / ten

We found /z/ only in the word zon 'rust' which is most likely a borrowing, the original term being wooro.

Elsewhere, we find the following:

i. s

watermelon	sara
baobab	sira
rabbit	sonsan
thief	son

ii. k

squirrel	kɛlɛn
cricket	kɛrɛrɛn
lute	kɔni
bitter tomato	kɔyɔ
dew	komi
baboon	gɔn

iii. t

spider	taren
toad	tori

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In those correspondences of /g/, /b/, /f/, /w/, etc., Markajalan has the following:

meat	soko
dream	sokon
dove	tuwan

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences of /t/, /d/ and /r/, one generally finds /r/ with an occasional /t/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	sunun
plant	tutu
thigh	woto

In this area, intervocalic liquids following initial nasals often nasalize to /n/.

knife	munu
short	sunun
canoe	kunun

c) Liquids

In the correspondences between /l/ and /r/, this area has a marked tendency towards /r/.

five	dooru
rope	juru
heavy	girin
fear	siran

run	bori
sew	kara
moon	karo
indigo	gara

d) Velars

i. In general, velar obstruents are lost in between identical vowels, although /k/ appears among a few speakers.

salt	kɔɔ (rare: kɔkɔ)
name	tɔɔ (also: tɔkɔ)
small	dɔɔ (also: dɔkɔ)
sit	sii (also: siki)
fish	jɛɛ (also: jɛkɛ)
leave	taa
kill	paa

ii. When the vowels are not identical one generally finds /k/.

eight	sekin
twenty	mukan

e) Palatals

One generally finds palatal nasals in medial position:

blow	finyɛ
fault	finyɛ
truth	tinyɛ
time	sinyɛ

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

There are no instances of labial nasal + consonant clusters in our corpus. There are however a few instances of /nd/.

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In general, vowels do not reduce in this area.

share	taran
sun	tere
ear	toro
game	toron
flute	fle
two	pira / fla
look	pɛrɛ
age mate	piran / flan
entry hut	boron
leave	bila
beer	dɔrɔ
hang	doron / dun
gown	dereke
lake	daran

b) Nasalization

Nasalization is retained on words in isolation.

thief	son
neck	kan
child	den
dream	sokon

c) Raising of Final /-a/

Frequently, one finds /-a/ in this position.

eye	nya / nyɛ
mouse	nyina
rainy season	samiya

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/.

This process does not operate in this region.

child	den
one	kelen
arm	bolo
horse	so

4. Tone

There are two lexical tones, but the interaction of the tones seems rather different from both Segou and Bamako. Our corpus is not sufficient to enable us to analyse its finer points.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
e	ere
a	are
an	anne
áa	áare
àa / u	àare / uru

b) The Definite Article

The definite article operates much like that in Upper Volta Dyula. It entails a modulated tone as in Bamako, as well as a marked lengthening of the final vowel.

I didn't see the woman   n ma mùsóò: ye

c) The Plural Marker

The plural marker is generally wò, but -ru is noted among older speakers.

teeth	nyínwò
snakes	sǎwò

d) Possessives

There is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

his knife	a munu
my money	n wari
my elder	n kɔrɔ

e) The Emphatic Particle

The emphatic particle is re.

The WOMAN left	muso re bɔra

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

The past marker is kùn.

He was farming	a kun ye sεnε-kε ra

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

trans:	ni	He drank water	a ni je min
	ma	He didn't drink water	a ma je min
intrans:	-ra	He went out	a bɔra
	ma	He didn't go out	a ma bɔ

ii. The Past Participial

The past participle is formed with the suffix -nin, but the past participle alone does not constitute a predication.

He is dead	a sanin non
He isn't dead	a sanin tɛ

iii. General Noncompletive

ye	He drinks water	a ye je min
ti	He doesn't drink water	a ti je min

iv. Future

yena	He will drink water	a yena je min
tina	He won't drink water	a tina je min

v. Progressive

	He is drinking water	a ye kɛn ka je min
	He isn't drinking water	a ti kɛn ka je min
or:	He is drinking water	a y'a ra ka je min
	He isn't drinking water	a t'a ra ka je min

vi. Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
Leave! (pl.)	á ye bɔ!
Don't leave!	a kana bɔ!

vii. Subjunctive

ka :	I want him to leave	n y'a fɛ a ka bɔ

viii. Infinitive

ka :	I want to leave	n y'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

ra : He went to the field   a taara foro ra

b) Relational

ye : He became a smith   a kɛra numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identity

ron (lon, non): It's the woman   muso ron

tɛ : It's not the woman   muso tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

He is a smith   a mu numu ye

He's not a smith   a ti mumu ye

c) Predicate Adjectives

ka : It's good   a ka di

man: It's not good   a man di

d) Existentials

The locative is retained to satisfy this function.

It's cold (here)   nɛnɛ ye yen

It's not cold (here)   nɛnɛ tɛ yen

e) Locatives

ye : He's in the field   a ye foro ra

ti : He's not in the field   a ti foro ra

San Town

The town of San defines the southern limit of the Marka-Jalan area. It is the eastern limit of the dialect referred to as Bakɔkan (the language across the river), close to the dialects of Kala and Segou-north. It marks the northern limit of the area referred to as Bɛndugu (meeting-land). The dialect of San Town contains resemblances to the Jonka of Bla and vicinity. Due to the administrative importance of San in this region, the San Town dialect has been the local standard, serving as the norm for smaller towns like Baramandougou in the north, Kimparara in the south and Wolen on the left bank of the Bani.

It's linguistic properties are as follows:

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternations of /f/, /p/ and /h/, the general tendency is towards /f/, with certain instances of /p/.

better	bisa / pisa
thin	pasa
two	fla
blow up	funu
blow	finyɛ

b) Alveolars

/d/ predominates over /l/ or /j/.

root	diri
star	dolo
stranger	dunan
stop	dɔ

c) Palatalizations

i. In the correspondences of /c/, /k/ and /t/, San Town generally has /c/.

man	cɛ
sand	cɛncɛn
bite	kin
between	cɛ
break	ti / ci

ii. With respect to those palatalizations of /s/ resulting from the modification of a medial consonant, San Town retains /s/ followed by a glide.

bean	syɔ / siyɔ / sũwɔ
chicken	syɛ / siyɛ
time	sinyɛ
scratch	sinyɛ

iii. There is no palatalization of /s/ before high vowels.

hair	si
shea	se
corpse	su

d) Palatals

In the alternations of /j/ and /y/, San has the following:

show	jira
fry	jiran
tree	jiri
here	yan

see	ye
there	yen

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the correspondences of /gb/, gw/, /g/, etc., San generally has /g/.

kitchen	gaso
hard	gɛlɛn
heavy	girin

ii. In the correspondences of /k/ and /x/, San has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kɔ

iii. In the correspondences of /ŋ/, /ŋw/, etc., San has /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋɛnyɛ / ŋwanyɛ
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋɔni

f) Prenasals

i. s

The prenasal is generally lost before /s/.

watermelon	sara
baobab	sira
thief	son

ii. t : nt

Monday	ntɛnɛn

spider	talen
grasshopper	ntɔn

iii. ng : nk

squirrel	ngɛlɛn
lute	ngɔni
dew	nkomi

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In those alternations involving /b/, /f/, [illegible]/, etc., San has the following:

meat	sogo
dream	sigo
dove	ntufa
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, San has /r/, with an occasional /t/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	surun
thigh	woto

c) Liquids

In the alternations of /r/ and /l/, San has the following:

five	duuru
rope	juru

heavy	girin
fear	siran
run	boli
moon	kalo
sew	kala
indigo	gala
root	diri

d) Velars

/k/ and /g/ are both found intervocalically.

salt	kɔkɔ
name	tɔkɔ / tɔgɔ
small	dɔgɔ
sit	sigi
go	taa
eight	seegin

e) Palatals

The palatal nasal is generally maintained in medial position.

blow	finyɛ
fault	finyɛ
truth	tinyɛ
time	sinyɛ

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

In general, labial and velar clusters have reduced to their corresponding nasals.

elephant	sama
dew	nkomi

health	kɛnɛ
drum	d·mun

A few cases however retain the cluster:

glorify	tando
rooster	dondo
protect	kanda

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

There is generally vowel reduction and subsequent consonant modification.

i. kl

share	klan
sun	kle
ear	klo
game	klon

Some speakers reinsert the vowel, retaining the modified consonant.

sun	kile
ear	kulo
game	kolon

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
look	filɛ
age mate	flan

iii. bl

entry hut	blon
leave	bla / bila
red	blen / bilen

iv. gl

beer	glɔ / gulɔ
hang	glon / gulon
fix	glan / gilan
gown	glɔki

b) Nasalization

San does not denasalize vowels in isolation.

thief	son
child	den
neck	kan

c) Raising of Final /-a/

In this context one usually finds /ɛ/.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛn
truth	tinyɛ

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process is not operant in this region.

child	den
one	kelen
woman	muso
horse	so

4. Tone

The tone system seems to operate like that described for Segou.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	ere
a	are
an	anw
á	aw
u	uru

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is tonal and operates like that described for Segou.

c) The Plural Marker

ù :	teeth	nyin-ù
	snakes	sǎ-ù

d) The Possessive

ka :	his knife	a ka muru
	my knife	n ka muru

e) The Emphatic Particle

re : The WOMAN left muso re bɔra

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

kùn : He was here a kun bɛ yan

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

trans. yeka : He drank water a yeka ji min

ma : He didn't drink water a ma ji min

intrans. -ra : He left a bɔra

ma : He didn't leave a ma bɔ

ii. Past Participial

The past participle is formed by the suffix -nin. A predicating particle is required to constitute a predication.

He is tired a sɛgɛnnin ye

He is dead a sanin non

He is out a bɔnin non

non is the form of ron after a nasal.

iii. The Hypothetical Completive

In our corpus, this is formed by ni plus the general completive.

If he leaves . . . ni a bɔra . . .

iv. The General Noncompletive

ye : He drinks water a ye ji min

ti : He doesn't drink water a ti ji min

v. Progressive

ye kan ka / yekɛnga : He is leaving a yekɛnga bɔ

ti kan ka / tikɛnga : He isn't leaving a tikɛnga bɔ

As presented above, these morphemes are in the process of fusing into single elements, such that their parts can no longer be recognized.

vi. Future

yena : He will drink water   a yena ji min

tina : He will not drink water   a tina ji min

vii. Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
Leave! (pl.)	á ye bɔ!
Don't leave!	á kana bɔ!

viii. Hortative

ka or ma : May God save you!   Ala k'i kisi
Ala m'i kisira

ix. Subjunctive

ka : I want him to leave   n y'a fɛ a ka bɔ

x. Infinitive

ka : I want to leave   n y'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

ra : He's in the field   a ye foro ra

b) Relational

ye : He became a smith   a kɛra numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

ron (non after a nasal):	It's the man	cɛ ron
tɛ :	It's not the man	cɛ tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

ye ... ye :	He is the smith	a ye numu ye
tɛ ... ye :	He isn't the smith	a tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjectives

ka :	It's good	a ka di
man :	It's not good	a man di

d) Existential

bɛ :	It's cold	nɛnɛ bɛ
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

ye :	He's here	a ye yan
ti :	He isn't here	a ti yan

A5. Bendugu and Jonkala

This area extends south of the Bani River from San, roughly following the curve of the river to the south. It borders in the south on the Bamako Region and the Koutiala Region. In the north and east, it blends into an ethnically and linguistically diverse area including Dogon, Bomu, Fula, Bolon, Bobo-fin, Mamara (Senufo) and Bozo. A very high percentage of these peoples use one or another dialect of Mandekan as a lingua franca, resulting in considerable ranges of variation in the grammar and phonology.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternations of /f/ and /p/, Jonka has primarily /f/.

better	pisa
thin	pasa
two	fla
cloth	fini
father	fa
fault	finyɛ / fyɛn

Some speakers in the area of Bla have /š/ in the word 'fault': šyɛn.

b) Labialization

There is a large percentage of speakers who labialize labials and velars.

bag	bɔrɛ / bwɔrɛ
back	kɔ / kwɔ

c) Alveolars

In the alternation of /d/, /l/ and /j/, this area has the

following:

give	di
root	gili
lie down	da
star	dolo
stop	jɔ
hang	di (rarely li)
stranger	dnaa (sometimes gnaa)

d) Palatals

In the alternations between /j/ and /y/, this area has the following:

show	jira
fry	jiran
tree	jiri
here	yan
see	ye
there	yenfɛ / yanfɛ / yɛnnɔ

e) Palatalizations

i. In the correspondences between /c/, /t/ and /k/, this area has the following:

good looks	cɛnyi
man	cɛ
sand	cɛncɛn / cicɛn
bite	kin
heritage	cyɛn
break	ci

between	cɛ
truth	cɛn

ii. With respect to palatalizations of /s/ arising from the modification of medial consonants, /š/ and /šy/ predominate.

bean	šyɔ (rare: siyɔ)
swear	šyɛn
chicken	šyɛ (rare: siyɛ)
scratch	šyan
time	šyɛn (rare: sinyɛ)

iii. /s/ is usually palatalized when followed by high vowels.

hair	ši
shea	ši
corpse	šu
eight	sekin / sɛkin / seegin

f) Velars

i. With respect to the alternations /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., this area has the following:

kitchen	gwa / ga
difficult	gwɛlɛn / gɛlɛn
bad	ko (also: go)
skin	wolo
heavy	gwiri / gwirin

Our sample from Yankasso shows almost entirely /g/.

ii. With respect to the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, this area has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kɔ

iii. With respect to the various forms of /ŋ/, this area has the following:

hero	ŋana
rush	ŋwɛnyɛ / ŋɛnyɛ
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	mɔni / ŋɔni

f) Prenasals

In this area, prenasalized /s/ is fairly unstable, whereas the prenasalized stops seem to be fairly stable from speaker to speaker.

i. s : z

watermelon	zɛrɛ / nzɛrɛ / nzaran / nsɛrɛ
baobab	sira
thief	so / zon / nzon / nson
rust	zo / nzo / zon / žo / nžon
rabbit	sonzan / soza / zozan / zoozan / nzonzan

ii. nt

spider	ntale
Monday	ntɛnɛ
toad	tɔri (rare: ntɔri)
grasshopper	ntɔn
oil palm	nten

iii. nk : ng

squirrel	ngɛlɛ / nkɛlɛn
lie	ngalo / galo / kalon / nkalon
cricket	ncɛɛrɛ / njɛɛrɛ
lute	ngɔni / nkɔni
bitter tomato	ngɔyɔ / nkɔyɔ / kɔyɔ
dew	ngɔmi (rare: nkɔmi)
baboon	gɔn

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In the correspondences of /g/, /b/, /f/, etc., this area has the following:

meat	soko / sogo
dream	sukon / sokon / suko / sogon / šukon
dove	ntuganni
vulture	duka

b) Alveolars

In those alternations between /t/, /d/ and /r/, this area has /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
shot	surun
thigh	woro

c) Liquids

In those alternations between /r/ and /l/ this area has the following:

five	duuru
rope	juru
heavy	g[illegible]in / gwiri
canoe	kurun
fear	siran
run	bɔli / bwali
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	gala

d) Palatals

In general, the medial palatal nasal /ny/, has been modified, resulting in the palatalization of the initial consonant.

truth	cɛn / cyɛn
swear	šyɛn
fault	fyɛn

e) Velars

Velar obstruents are generally found in medial position. In those rare instances where they drop out, the modification of the vowel takes place.

	General	Bla-Touna
salt	kɔkɔ/ kɔgɔ	kwa
name	tɔkɔ/ tɔgɔ	cwa
sleep	sunɔkɔ	sunaa / šunaa
sit	sigi	sigi / šigi
go	taa (rare: taga)	taa
kill	faa (rare: faga)	faa

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Alveolar and labial stop clusters have modified to their corresponding nasals. Velar nasal + consonant clusters alternate with /ŋ/. /ns/ remains fairly intact.

healthy	kɛnɛ
drum	dunun
crocodile	bama
pass	tɛmɛ
power	faŋga / faŋa
hunger	kɔŋgɔ / kɔŋɔ
hunter	donso / donzo

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In this area, vowels reduce. The resulting modification of initial consonants varies considerably.

i. kl : tl

Speakers divide into three sets with no geographical association.

	I	II	III
share	klan	tla	tla
sun	kle	tle	tle
ear	klo	tlo	klo
game	klo	tlon	klon

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
age mate	flan

iii. bl

entry hut	blon
leave	bla
red	blen

iv. dl : gl

In our sample, the speakers divide evenly according to those who use /dl/ and those who use /gl/. Only one speaker in our sample mixed the two. It is important to note that the selection of /gl/ is independent of the selection of /kl/. Some of the various combinations in idiolects are as follows:

	I	II	III	IV
beer	glɔ	glɔ	glɔ	dlɔ
hang	dlon	glon	dlo	dlon
repair	gla	gla	dla	dla
gown	glɔki	glɔki	dlɔki	dlɔki
lake	gla	dla	gla	dla / gla

b) Vowel Nasalization

There is sporadic loss of vowel nasalization in isolation.

thief	son / sɛ
one	kelen / kele
neck	kan / ka

c) Raising of /-a/

In general, in this context, /a/ is raised to /ɛ/.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ
rainy season	siminyɛ

d) Raising of /o/ and /e/.

This process does not operate in any systematic fashion in this area.

child	den / de
arrive	se
one	kelen / kele
arm	bolo
horse	so
bone	kolo

4. Tone

The tonal system operates according to the rules of the Segou system described in the introduction.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
a	ale
an	anw
á	aw
u	olu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is tonal and operates according to the Segou system.

He didn't buy the cloth.	à má fìnî: sàn
He didn't buy cloth.	à má fìni sân

c) The Plural Marker

u: :	the women	músóù
	the children	dén-ù

d) The Possessive

ka :	his knife	a ka muru
	my knife	n ka muru

e) The Emphatic Marker

de :	The WOMAN came.	muso de nana

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

kun :	He was here	a kun bi yan

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Noncompletive

trans. ye :	He drank water	a ye ji min
mɛ / ma :	He didn't drink water	a mɛ ji min
intrans. -la :	He went out	a bɔla
mɛ :	He didn't go out	a mɛ bɔ

ii. Past Participial

The past participle is formed with the suffix -len (-nen after a nasal). It is not clear from our corpus whether the past participle alone constitutes a predication.

He was farming last year.	a kun bi ci kɛ san tɛmɛnen

iii. Hypothetical Completive

Our corpus contains primarily ni + general completive, but there are a few instances of mɛnɛ, and at Yankasso, primarily mana.

If he leaves . . .	n'a bɔla . . .
Were he to leave . . .	a mɛnɛ bɔ . . .

iv. The General Noncompletive

bi / bɛ :	He comes out	a bi bɔ
ti / tɛ :	He doesn't come out	a ti bɔ

v. The Progressive

There are two forms in current use.

X b'a la ka Y :	He is leaving	a b'a la ka bɔ
X t'a la ka Y :	He isn't leaving	a t'a la ka bɔ

or X bi kan ka Y / X b'a ka Y / X bɛ ki Y :

He is leaving	a bi kan ka bɔ

X ti kan ka Y / X t'a ka Y / X tɛ ki Y :

He isn't leaving	a ti kan ka bɔ

vi. The Future

Some speakers make a distinction between a general future and a near future. Other speakers do not distinguish between the following forms:

general future

na / nɛ :	He will drink water	a nɛ ji min
tɛ :	He won't drink water	a tɛ ji min

near future

bina / bna : He is going to leave   a bina bɔ

tina / tna : He isn't going to leave   a tina bɔ

vii. The Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave	kana bɔ!
Leave! (pl.)	á ye bɔ!
Don't leave!	á kana bɔ!

The negative auxiliary has many variants: kina, kinɛ, kɛnɛ, knɛ.

viii. The Subjunctive

ka / kɛ : I want him to leave   n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ

ix. The Infinitive

ka / kɛ : I want to leave   n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

x. The Hortative

ka / kɛ : May God help you.   Ala ka i dɛmɛ

Also ma plus the suffix -la:

May God help you   Ala ma i dɛmɛna

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

la : He is in the field   a bi foro la

b) Relational

ye : He became a smith.   a kɛla numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

NP do / don :	It's the smith	numu don
NP tɛ :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

He's the smith	a ye numu ye
He's not the smith	a tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjectives

It's good	a kɛ di
It's not good	a mɛ di

d) Existential

bɛ :	It's cold	nɛnɛ bɛ
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

bɛ :	He's here	a bɛ yan
tɛ :	He's not here	a tɛ yan

A6. Dafin and Boron

The Dafin are found principally in Upper Volta, centered around the town of Nouna. The Dafin extend upward into Mali around the villages of Koula, Diarani, Yelené and Kuna, and northward toward Bankaso in the villages of Dialassagou, Ouenkoro and Bai. The closest dialect to Dafin is Boron or Nporon, of which the majority of speakers is again in Upper Volta, not far from Bobo-Dioulasso in the area of Ourodara. Boron speakers are also found in Mali in the towns of Koure (Koutiala), Waki (San), Samani and Somandougou (Tominian).

These dialects have many traits in comon with Bobofin, a Mandekan dialect spoken in the outskirts of Bobo-Dioulasso.

The reader will note a surprising number of similarities with the Maninka group of dialects. In effect, these two dialects do not belong in the Bambara subclass of Mandekan. They are placed at this point in this point in the study for geographic rather than linguistic reasons.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences of /f/, /p/, /h/ etc, these dialects tend towards /p/.

better	pisa (Boron: bisa)
thin	pasa
two	fula
cloth	peni / panu
father	pa
blow	pinyɛ
fault	pinyɛ

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences of /d/ and /l/, these dialects generally have /l/.

root	liri (Boron: dili)
lie down	la (Boron: da)
star	lolo
stand	lɔ
honey	li (Boron: di)
stranger	lonan

c) Palatalizations

i. In the correspondences of /k/ and /c/, Dafin tends toward /c/, whereas in Boron we find /k/ or /ky/. In those correspondences of /c/ and /t/, we generally find /t/ in both dialects.

	Dafin	Boron
handsome	caani	kyani
man	cɛ	kya
sand	kinyɛ	kyɛnkyɛn
bite	cin	kin
do	cɛ	kɛ
break	ten	ten
slide	tiiri	tiiru
between	kya	tya
truth	kinyɛ	tinyɛ

ii. In those palatalizations of /s/ resulting from the modification of an intervocalic consonant these dialects have retained /s/.

bean	sɔsɔ
chicken	siyɛ (Boron: sisɛ)
time	sinyɛ / senya

iii. These dialects do not palatalize /s/ before high vowels.

hair	ti
seed	si
shea	swe (Boron: sye)
corpse	su

d) Palatals

In those correspondences between /j/, /y/ and /z/ these dialects have both /y/ and /z/.

show	yira
fry	yiran
fish	yɛɛ / yɛyɛ
tree	yiri
here	yan
see	ye
there	yanbɛ / yantara
country	zamana
water	ze (Boron: zye)
bottom	zu

e) Labialization

hear	mwɛn
back	kɔ /kwɔ
bag	bɔrɔ / bwɔrɔ
thing	kwo

f) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In those correspondences between /g/, /gb/, /gw/ etc., one generally finds /gb/ in Dafin and /kp/ or /kw/ in Boron.

	Dafin	Boron
kitchen	(kinitobidiya)	kwasa
hard	gwɛrɛ	kpɛrɛ
bad	ko	kwo
skin	goro	woro
heavy	gwiri	kpuli

ii. Neither of these dialects has /x/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
belly	kɔnɔ

iii. In those correspondences involving velar nasals these dialects have the following:

	Dafin	Boron
hero	ŋana	(kanbere)
rash	nyɛ	nyɛgɛ
crawl	ŋunuma	hunuma
thorn	ŋwani	ŋwɔni

f) Prenasals

There are no prenasals in either dialect.

	Dafin	Boron
spider	—	taaren
Monday	tɛnɛn	tɛnɛn
toad	tori	todi

grasshopper	(dundurufo)	tɔn
oil palm	teeni	teeni
baobab	sira	sira
thief	son	son
rust	soɯ	somo
rabbit	kɛrɛsan	kɛnɛsɛn
squirrel	kɛrɛn	kɛlɛn
cricket	kɛnɛnɛ	kɛrɛrɛ
lute	kɔni	kɔni
dew	komi	komi

2. Intervocalic Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In those correspondences between /g/, /w/, /b/, etc., these dialects have the following:

	Dafin	Boron
blessing	duwa	dubawu
meat	suwo	soko
dream	siyo	sigon
dove	tuwanin	tubɔn
vulture	duwa	duba
twenty	mwɔ	muwan

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, one finds all three in these dialects.

	Dafin	Boron
tie	siri	sidi
elder	kɔrɔ	kɔrɔ
short	sunun	surun
plant	turu	tutu
thigh	woto	tɔgɔ

c) Liquids

In those alternations between /l/ and /r/, one generally finds /r/.

	Dafin	Boron
five	looru	looru
rope	zuru	zyuru
heavy	gwiri	kpuri
canoe	kurun	kurun
fear	siran	siran
run	bori	bori
sew	kaara	kara
moon	karo	kari
indigo	kara	gara

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

There is in general no vowel reduction in these dialects.

	Dafin	Boron
share	taaran	tara
sun	tere	tere
ear	toro	toro

flute	fula / fla	fula
entry	boron	boro
leave	bla	piri
red	vleman	wureman
beer	dɔrɔ	dɔrɔ
gown	dereke	(panuba)
lake	lalan	dara

b) Nasalization

Nasalization is generally retained in all contexts.

neck	kan
head	kun
thief	son
child	den
one	keren (Dafin: ceren)

c) Raising of /e/ and /o/.

This process has not effected these dialects.

child	den
one	keren
thing	kwo
ear	toro

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
e	ere

a	àre
an	annu (Boron: anni)
á	aru (Boron: áare)
à	aaru (Boron: oru)

b) The Definite Article

In Dafin, o is found. In Boron, the definite article appears to be tonal, but it remains to be studied.

	Dafin	Boron
the cloth	peno	pànû
cloth	peni	pànù

c) The Plural Marker

ru :

	Dafin	Boron
teeth	nyinoru	nyinnu
snakes	sàórù	saru
cows	mìsíòrù	misiru

Note that the definite article o precedes the plural marker.

d) The Possessive

In both dialects there is no formal marker for alienable possession.

	Dafin	Boron
his knife	à mùnúù	a munu
my money	n waro	n wari

e) The Emphatic Particle

re : The WOMAN left. musoo re bwɔra

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tɛrɛ :

Dafin:	He was farming	a tɛrɛ sɛno na
Boron:	He was farming	a tɛrɛ bɛ sɛnɛra

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans.	Dafin:	ni ;	He drank water	a ni ze min
		ma ;	He didn't drink water	a ma ze min
	Boron:	na ;	He drank water	a na zye mi
		ma ;	He didn't drink water	a ma zye mi
intrans.		-ra :	He left	a bwɔra
		ma :	He didn't leave	a ma bwɔ

ii. Past Participial

-nin is the suffix for the past participle, but the participle alone does not constitute a predication.

Dafin:	He is tired	a syɛnin mu
Boron:	He is tired	a sɛgɛnin mu

iii. General Noncompletive

Dafin:	He drinks water	a ye ze min
	He doesn't drink water	a ti ze min
Boron:	He drinks water	a (ye) zye mi
	He doesn't drink water	a ti zye mi

iv. Future

yena :	He will come	a yena na
tina :	He will not come	a tina na

v. Progressive

Dafin:	He is drinking water	a y'e sɔn n'e ye ze min
	He isn't drinking water	a t'e sɔn n'e ye ze min
Boron:	He is drinking water	a (ye) kɛ ka zye mi
	He isn't drinking water	a ti kɛ ka zye mi

vi. Imperative

Singular:	Leave!	bɔ!
	Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
Plural: Dafin:	Leave!	á bɔ!
Boron:	Leave!	a ka bɔ!

vii. Hortative

ka / kɛ : May God save you   Ara k'e kisi

viii. Subjunctive

ka : I want him to come   n y'a fɛ a ka na

ix. Infinitive

ka : I want to leave   n y'a fɛ ka bwɔ

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

ra : He went to the field   a taara foro ra

b) Relational

Dafin ye : He became a smith   a kɛra nuun ye

Boron ri : He became a smith   a kɛra nuku ri

4. Sentence Types

a) Identity

NP mu :	It's Madu	Madu re mu
NP tɛ :	It's not Madu	Madu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

Dafin:	He's a smith	a nun ye
	He's not a smith	a tɛ nunye
Boron:	He's a smith	a na nuku ri
	He's not a smith	a tɛ nuku ri

c) Predicate Adjective

ka :	It's good	a ka di
ma :	It's not good	a man di

d) Existential

SN ye :	It's cold	nɛnɛ ye
SN tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

ye :	He's in the field	a ye foro ra
tɛ :	He's not in the field	a tɛ foro ra

A7. Sieladugu and Sarodugu

Sieladugu and Sarodugu are regions centered around the towns of Siela, Saro and Sai between the Bani and Niger rivers north of San and south of Ke-Macina.

They are now and have long been very closely allied with Segou politically, culturally and economically. The dialects of this area blend almost imperceptibly into that of Segou.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

With respect to the correspondences of /f/, /p/ and /h/, these regions have primarily /f/ with a few instances of /p/.

better	bisa (rare: fisa, pisa)
thin	pasa
two	fla
cloth	fini
father	fa

b) Labializations

Labializations are sporadic with labials and velars.

bag	bɔrɛ / bwɛrɛ
back	kɔ / kwɔ
go out	bɔ / bwɔ

c) Alveolars

In the correspondences of /d/, /l/ and /j/, this area has /d/.

root	diri (rare: dili)
lie down	da

star	dlo (rare: doro)
honey	di (rare: ji)
stranger	dnan (Saro: gnan)
stand	dɔ (rare: jɔ)

e) Palatals

In the alternations of /j/ and /y/, this area has the following:

show	jira
fry	jiran
tree	jiri
here	yan / ya
see	ya
there	yen / ye / yenvɛ

f) Palatalizations

i. In the correspondences of /c/, /k/ and /t/, these regions have the following:

handsome	cɛnyi
man	cɛ
sand	cɛncɛn / kyɛnkyɛn
bite	kin (rare: cin)
heritage	cinyɛ / cɛn / tyɛn / knyɛ / kinyɛ / kɛn
break	ci (rare: ce, tye)
between	cɛ
truth	cyɛn / tinyɛ / tyɛn

ii. With respect to the palatalization of /s/ resulting from the modification of a medial consonant, this are has primarily /š/ or /šy/.

bean	šyɔ / šuyɔ (Sayi: susɔ)
chicken	šyɛ / šiyɛ (Sayi: sisɛ, siyɛ)
scratch	šyɛn / šyan (Sayi: sinya, šiyan)
time	šyɛn (Sayi: sinyɛ, syɛn, siyɛn)

iii. In those cases of the palatalization of /s/ preceding high vowels, these area have generally /š/ around Saro and Siela, and /s/ in the are around Sai.

	Saro	Sai
hair	ši	si
shea	šɛ / še	sye
corpse	šu / šyu / su	su
eight	seegin	seekin
cow	miši	misi
tie	siri / širi	siri

f) Velars and Labiovelars

i. With respect to the correspondences of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., this area has considerable variation between /gw/ and /g/.

kitchen	gwa / ga
hard	gwɛlɛn / gɛlɛn / gwɛlɛ / gɛlɛ
bad	ko / go (rare: ku)
skin	wolo
heavy	gwirin / girin / gwiri / giri

ii. With respect to the correspondences of /x/ and /k/, these areas have only /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kɔ
bird	kɔnɔ

ii. With respect to the correspondences with /ŋ/, these areas have primarily /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋɛnyɛ / ŋwɛ
crawl	ŋunuma (rare: munuma)
thorn	ŋɔni (rare: mɔni)

g) Prenasals

These areas are clearly transitional with respect to the prenasals. There is frequent voicing of the following obstruent, or loss of the nasal element.

i. s : z

watermelon	sara
baobab	sira
thief	son
rust	zon / nzon / zo (also Saro: zyon, nžon)
rabbit	sonzan (also Saro: zonzan)

ii. nd : t

spider	ndalen
Monday	ndɛnɛn (rare: dɛnɛn, ntɛnɛn)
toad	tɔri
grasshopper	ndɔn
oil palm	nde (rare: nte)

iii. ng : k

squirrel	ngɛlɛn
lie	ngalo
cricket	ngyɛrɛn / kɛɛrɛn / ŋgɛɛrɛn
lute	ŋgɔni
bitter tomato	kɔyɔ
dew	ŋgɔmi / kɔmi / ŋkɔmi
baboon	gɔn (Saro, Sai: ŋgɔn)

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

With respect to the correspondences of /g/, /b/, /w/, etc., these areas have the following:

meat	soko / sogo
dream	soko / sogo / sogon
dove	ndukanni / nduga / dugan
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

With respect to the correspondences of /t/, /d/, and /r/, these areas have /r/.

tie	siri / širi
elder	kɔrɔ
short	surun / suru
thigh	woro

c) Liquids

With respect to the alternations of /r/ and /l/, these areas have the following:

five	duuru (Sai: dooru)
rope	juru
heavy	giri / gwirin
canoe	kurun
fear	siran
run	boli (Sai: bɔri)
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	gala

d) Palatals

This is a transitional area where one finds palatal nasals in varying states of lenition.

truth	tinyɛ / cinyɛ / tnyɛ / tyɛn / cyɛn / cɛn

e) Velars

In the area of Sai, velar obstruents have dropped out between two identical low back vowels, triggering a vowel change. Otherwise /g/ and /k/ alternate freely. In the other areas, one finds all manner of combinations. We offer three different idiolects to illustrate the nature of the variation.

	Sai	I	II	III
salt	kwa	kɔkɔ	kwa	kwa
name	twa	tɔkɔ	twa	tɔgɔ
young	dwa	dɔkɔ	dwa	dɔgɔ
sleep	sunaa	sunɔɔ	sunaa	sunaa
sit	siki / sigi	siki	sigi	sigi
twenty	mukan / mugan	mukan	mugan	mugan

	Sai	I	II	III
kill	faa	faa	faa	faa
go	taa	taa	taa	taa

It is not at all uncommon to find 'salt' as kwa with 'name' and 'young' as tɔgɔ and dɔ̀gɔ as in idiolect III above.

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Labial and alveolar stop clusters have reduced to their corresponding nasals. /n/+/s/ is generally found as /nz/ and /nk/ is usually found as /ng/ or /ŋ/.

pass	tɛmɛ
dew	ngɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ
drum	dunun
hunter	donzo
rabbit	sonzan
force	faŋga / faŋa
hunger	kɔŋgɔ / kɔŋɔ

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In general, vowel reduction takes place in this context. There are a significant number of /tl/ to /kl/ correspondences, but with /dl/ to /gl/ correspondences, /dl/ is much more common.

i. /tl/ : /kl/

	Sai	Saro-Siela
divide	tla	klan / tlan
sun	tle	kle / tle

	Sai	Saro-Siela
ear	tlo	klo / tlo
game	tlon	klon / tlon

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
age mate	flan

iii. bl

entry hut	blon
leave	bla
red	blen

iv. dl

	Sai	Saro-Siela
beer	dlɔ	dlɔ / glɔ / gulɔ
hang	dlon	dlon / gulon / glon
fix	dla	dlan / glan / gilan
gown	dlɔki	dlɔki / glɔki / gilɔki

b) Vowel Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is frequently dropped when the word is cited in isolation, but usually returns in context.

thief	zo: / zon
child	de: / den
one	kel̇e / kelen

c) Raising of final /-a/

In this context, one generally finds /ɛ/.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ
grab	minɛ

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in this area.

child	de / den
one	kele / kelen
anvil	se
arm	bolo
horse	so
bone	kolo

4. Tone

The tone system seems to operate according to the same principles of the Segou system (see Definite Article below).

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

	Regular	Emphatic
I	n	ne
you	i	ere / e
he/she	a	are (rare: ale)
we	an	anw
you	á	aw
they	u	uru (rare: olu)

b) The Definite Article

Our corpus shows the sporadic presence of a segmental definite article, consisting of a back glide with low tone which is added on to the preceding vowel. The difference between this morpheme and the plural morpheme seems to be that the plural morpheme has the phonetic value of a vowel, whereas the definite article is reduced more or less to a glide.

the tooth	[nyíẁ]
the teeth	[nyīu]

c) The Plural Marker

ù : As stated above, the plural marker is expressed phonetically as [ù]. Orthographically we will continue to represent it as /w/.

the women	mùsóù

d) Possessives

Alienable possession is expressed with ka.

his knife	a ka muru
my knife	n ka muru

e) The Emphatic Particle

The emphatic particle is de.

The WOMAN came	muso de nana

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

kun :	He was here	a kun bi yan
	He wasn't here	a kun ti yan

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans. *ye* : He drank water a ye ji min

mɛ / ma : He didn't drink water a mɛ ji min

intrans. *-ra* : He went out a bɔra

mɛ : He didn't go out a mɛ bɔ

ii. Past Participial

The past participle is formed with either *-len* or *-nin*. The past participle alone appears to count as a predication.

He is dead a sanin

iii. Hypothetical Completive

Our corpus shows exclusively *ni* plus the general completive.

If he leaves . . . ni a bɔra . . .

iv. General Noncompletive

bi : He goes out a bi bɔ

ti : He doesn't go out a ti bɔ

v. Progressive

bi kan ka / *bi ki* / *bi ka* / *bi kɛn ka*

ti kan ka / *ti ki* / *ti ka* / *ti kɛn ka*

These forms produce phonetically:

[bi kɛŋga / bi kɛŋa]

vi. Future

bina : He will go out a bina bɔ

tina / *tikina* / *tiki* : He will not go out a tina bɔ

vii. Imperative

sg.: Leave! bɔ!

Don't leave! kɛnɛ bɔ!

plu.: Leave! á ye bɔ!

Don't leave! á kɑ - bɔ!

viii. Hortative

kɛ : May God help you Ala k'i dɛmɛ

ix. Subjunctive

kɛ : I want him to leave n b'a fɛ a kɛ bɔ

x. Infinitive

kɛ : I want to leave n b'a fɛ kɛ bɔ

3. Postposition

a) Locative

la / ra (Sai: ra) :

He is in the field a bɛ foro la

b) Relational

ye : He became a smith a kɛra numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

do / don : It's the smith numu do

tɛ : It's not the smith numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

ye...ye : He's a smith a ye numu ye

tɛ...ye : He's not a smith a tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjective

kɛ / ka :   It's good   a kɛ di

mɛn / man :   It's not good   a mɛn di

d) Existential

bɛ :   It's cold   nɛnɛ bɛ

tɛ :   It's not cold   nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

bɛ / bi :   He's in the field   a bɛ foro ra

tɛ / ti :   He's not in the field   a tɛ foro ra

A8. Segou

We have defined the region of Segou roughly as that region extending up the Niger River from Segou southwestward towards Bamako, including Baroueli and Fana, and extending to Santiguila on the southern bank. On the northern bank this region runs from Niamina down to Koulikoro and environs. (The western portions of the area are not included on the map.)

The influence of Segou is of course much greater, encompassing perhaps an area three or four times this size.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

With respect to the correspondences of /f/, /p/ and /h/, Segou-South has primarily /f/, with some instances of /p/ in the eastern and central sections.

	Konobougou	Fana	Koulikoro
father	fa	fa	fa
cloth	fini	fini	fini
two	fla	fla	fila
thin	pasa	pasa / fasa	fasa
better	pisa	—	—
fault	finyɛ	finyɛ	finyɛ

b) Alveolars

In the alternations of /d/, /l/, /j/, etc., this area has the following:

root	gili (rare: dili)
lie down	da
star	dolo
honey	di
stand	jɔ
stranger	dunan / dnan (sometimes: gnan)

c) Palatals

With respect to the correspondences between /j/ and /y/, this area has the following:

	General	Fana
show	jira	yira
tree	jiri	yiri
fry	jiran	yiran
here	yan	yan
see	ye	ye

d) Palatalizations

i. With respect to the correspondences of /c/, /k/ and /t/, this area has /c/.

man	cɛ
good looks	cɛnyi
bite	cin
between	cɛ
sand	cɛncɛn / çɛnjɛ / ncin

ii. With respect to the palatalizations of /s/ resulting from the modification of an intervocalic consonant, this area has generally /š/.

bean	šɔ
chicken	šɛ
scratch	šyɛn / šiyan / šinyɛn

iii. With respect to the palatalizations of /s/ followed by a high vowel, this area has:

	Konobougou	Fana	Koulikoro
hair	ši	ši / si	si
shea	ši	ši / si	ši
corpse	šu	—	—
eight	seegin	sɛgin	seegin

e) Labiovelars and Velars

i. With respect to the correspondences between /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., this area has the following:

	Konobougou	Fana	Koulikoro
kitchen	gwa	gwa	ga
hard	gɛlɛn	gwɛlɛn	gɛlɛn
heavy	girin	girin / gwirin	girin
bad	ko	ko	go
skin	wolo	wolo	wolo

ii. With respect to the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, this area has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
stream	kɔ
bird	kɔnɔ
new	kura

iii. With respect to the correspondences of /ŋ/, /ŋw/, etc., this area has primarily /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋɛnyɛ (rare: ŋwɛnyɛ)
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋɔni (rare: ŋwɔni)

f) The Prenasals

For the most part, this region has preserved the prenasal elements.

i. ns : z : nj

Some dialects around Fana show /nj/ corresponding to /nz/.

	Konobougou	Fana	Koulikoro
watermelon	zɛrɛ	nzɛrɛ / njɛrɛ	nsɛrɛ
thief	zo: / zon	nzon / njon	nson
rust	zo: / zomo	nzo / njɔn	nson

ii. nt : nd

spider	ntale (Konobougou: ntalo)
Monday	ntɛnɛn
toad	ntɔri
grasshopper	ntɔn
cricket	ŋkɛɛrɛn / ŋgɛɛrɛn / ŋgɛlɛ
lute	ŋkɔni / ŋgɔni
dew	ngomi / komi
baboon	ngɔn (Konobougou: gɔn)

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In the alternations of /g/, /b/, /f/, etc., this area has the following:

meat	sogo
dream	sogo (Fana: siko)
dove	tuban (Konobougou: ntugan)
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, this area has /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
thigh	woro
short	surun

c) Liquids

In the correspondences between /r/ and /l/, this area has the following:

five	duuru
rope	juru
canoe	kurun (Koulikoro: kunun)
road	sira
fear	siran
run	boli
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	gala

d) Palatals

Palatal nasals are frequently found in medial position.

wind	finyɛ
truth	knyɛ
liver	binyɛ

e) Velars

In most parts of this area, velar obstruents are found in medial position. Only in Konobougou does our corpus show occasional loss of velars and resulting vowel modification.

	Konobougou	General
salt	kwa / kɔgɔ	kɔgɔ
name	tɔgɔ / twa	tɔgɔ
go	taa	taa
kill	faa / faga	faga / faa
eight	seegin	segin / seegin

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

These areas follow the standard Bambara pattern. There are no instances of /mb/ or /nd/ in our corpus. /ŋg/ and /ns/ or /nz/ are widespread.

pass	tɛmɛ
wing	kaman
axe	jele
healthy	kɛnɛ
force	faŋga / faŋka
price	sɔŋgɔ
hunter	donson / donzo (rare: dozo)
rabbit	sonsa / zonza (rare: soza:)

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In this region, vowels reduce, but there are only relatively rare instances of initial consonant modification.

i. tl : kl

divide	tla (rare: kla)
sun	tle (rare: kle)
ear	tlo (rare: klo)
game	tlon (rare: klon)

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
age mate	flan

iii. bl

entry hut	blon
leave	bla
red	blen

iv. dl : gl

Our corpus shows only occasional appearances of /gl/ in the Konobougou Region.

beer	dlɔ (rare: glɔ)
hang	dlon (rare: glon)
fix	dla (rare: gla)
gown	dlɔki (rare: glɔki)

b) Raising of /-a/

The vowel /ɛ/is generally found in this context.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ
steal	sonyɛ
liver	binyɛ

c) Vowel Nasalization

For the most part, vowel nasalization is retained in final position.

neck	kan
thief	nzon / nzo: / zo:
child	den / de:
one	kelen

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in this area.

child	den
leg	sen
arm	bolo
bone	kolo
horse	so

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
a	ale
an	ánẁ

á	áẁ
u	olu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is tonal and operates according to the system described in the introduction.

c) The Plural Marker

ù :	women	mùsóù
	children	dén-ù

d) Possessive

ka :	his knife	a ka muru
	my knife	n ka muru

e) Emphatic

de : The WOMAN came muso de ɲana

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

In Konobougou, the past marker is kùn. In the rest of the region it is tùn.

He was here a tun bɛ yan

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans.	ye :	He drank water	a ye ji min
	ma :	He didn't drink water	a ma ji min

In Koulikoro one finds also ya in place of ye.

intrans.	-ra :	He went out	a bɔra
	ma :	He didn't go out	a ma bɔ

ii. *Past Participial*

In this area, the past participle is formed by the suffix *-len* (*-leː*). In our corpus, the past participle alone does not constitute a predication. It requires either the predicating particle *bɛ* or *don*. In Konobougou, the form of the suffix before *bɛ* is *-n*. Before *don*, it is *-leː* or *-len*.

Konobougou:	He is out	a bɔn bɛ
	He is not out	a bɔn tɛ
General:	He is dead	a salen don
	He is not dead	a salen tɛ

iii. *The Hypothetical Completive*

Our corpus shows both *mana* and *ni* + the general completive.

Should he go out	a mana bɔ
If he goes out . . .	ni a bɔra

iv. *General Noncompletive*

bɛ :	He drinks water	a bɛ ji min
tɛ :	He doesn't drink water	a tɛ ji min

(Konobougou has *bi* and *ti*.)

v. *Progressive*

bi ka / *bɛ kan ka* :	He is leaving	a bi ka bɔ
ti ka / *tɛ kan ka* :	He isn't leaving	a ti ka bɔ

vi. *Future*

bina / *bna* / *bɛna* / *na* :	He will leave	a bina bɔ
tina / *tna* / *tɛna* :	He will not leave	a tina bɔ

In some dialects our corpus shows a possible opposition between bɛna 'near future' and na 'general future'. Both would be negated by tɛna

vii. Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
Leave! (pl.)	a ye bɔ!
Don't leave!	á kana bɔ!

viii. Hortative

ma plus the verbal suffix -la :

May God help you   Ala ma i kisila

ix. Subjunctive

ka : I want him to leave   n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ

x. Infinitive

ka : I want to leave   n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

la : He is in the field   a bɛ foro la

b) Relational

ye : He became a smith   a kɛra numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

don (do):	It's the smith	numu do
tɛ :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

He's a smith	a ye numu ye
He's not a smith	a tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjective

ka : It's good	a ka di
ma : It's not good	a man di

d) Existential

bɛ : It's cold	n ɛnɛ bɛ
tɛ : I'ts not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

bɛ (also bi): He's here	a bɛ yan
tɛ (also ti): He's not here	a tɛ yan

A9. Baninkɔ or Jedugu.

The Baninko Region lies between the Baoule and the Bagoe Rivers, both major tributaries of the Bani River. The Baoule constitutes the northern border, at which point the Baninko meets the southern Segou region. The Baoule curves rapidly southward and thus defines the western border where the Baninko meets the Jamadugu and Jitumu Region. The Bagoe defines the eastern border, except in the north, where the Baninko extends across the river to include Beleko-Soba. The southern limits are not precise. According to some, Massigui is not only included in the Baninko, but is its traditional center. According to others, Massigui is one of the northernmost limits of Ganadugu. Both definitions may in fact be true depending on the particular period of reference.

The people of the Baninko define themselves ethnically as Bambara, and their speech has strong affinities with the Segou region.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

i. In the alternation of /f/, /p/ and /h/, the Baninko has generally /f/, with some instances of /p/.

better	fusa	(also: pusa, wusa)
thin	fasa	(rarely: pasa)
blow up	funu	

ii. There are rare instances of /fy/ changing to /šy/.

blow	šyɛ
fault	šyɛn

iii. In the alternations of /b/ and /g/, Baninko frequently has

/g/ in the north of the region, but in the south /b/ predominates.

	Dioila	Massigui
dung	gwo	bo
bag	gɔrɔ / gwɛrɛ	bɔrɔ
go out	gwɔ / gɔ	gɔ / bɔ / bwɔ
run	geyi	boli / boyi

b) Labializations

In our opinion, the alternation of /b/ and /g/ is directly dependent on the process of labialization, the process being something like the following:

1. /b/ is labialized by a back vowel
2. /bw/ changes to /gw/
3. /gw/ may delabialize to /g/.

Where one does not find /g/ or /gw/ in the Baninko, one will find labialized /bw/, as well as labialized /kw/.

go out	bwɔ
back	kwɔ

c) Alveolars

In the alternations of /d/, /l/ and /j/, the Baninko has the following.

give	ji (freely varies with di)
lie down	da
star	jolo (Massigui: dolo)
stop	jɔ
honey	ji

certain	jɔ
nice	ji

d) Palatals

In the alternation of /j/ and /y/, the Baninko has the following.

show	yira (rarely: jira)
fry	yiran
tree	yiri
here	yan
see	yɛ
there	yen fɛ / yen sɛ

e) Palatalizations

i. With respect to instances of /c/ corresponding to /k/ and /t/ in other dialects, the Baninko generally has /c/.

handsome	cɛnyi
man	cɛ
sand	cɛn / cɛncɛn / cicɛn / cɛcɛ
bite	kin (rarely: cin)
heritage	cɛn
break	ci (sometimes ti)
slide	cɛɛnɛ / tɛɛrɛ / tɛrɛndɛ
between	cɛ
truth	cɛn / cyɛn / can

ii. With respect to the palatalizations of /s/ resulting from the modification of a medial palatal, the Baninko generally has /šy/ and occasionally /sy/

beans	šyɔ / syɔ
swear	šyɛ / syɛn (fyɛ?)
chicken	šyɛ / syɛ
scratch	šyɛn / šyan / syan
time	šyɛn / syɛn / sinya

iii. With regard to the palatalization of /s/ before high vowels, the Baninko shows great variation.

	North	South
hair	siki / si / ši	ši / si
seed	si / ši	ši / si
shea	si	ši / si
eight	šɛkin	šyekin
corpse	su	šu

iv. In the North, the word for 'many' is ca/can, in the south ša.

It must be pointed out that the same speaker may consistently palatalize the word for 'hair' ši, but never palatalize the word for 'seed' si. In those particular idiolects the opposition between /s/ and /š/ is without question phonemic.

f) Velars and Labiovelars

i. gw : g

	North	South
kitchen	gwa	ga
hard	gwɛlɛ	gɛlɛn
bad	go	go
skin	wolo	golo
heavy	gwiri	girin

ii. In the correspondences of /x/ and /k/, Baninko has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kwɔ

iii. ŋw : ŋ

	North	South
hero	ŋwana	ŋana
rash	ŋwɛnyɛ	ŋɛnyɛ / ŋwɛnyɛ
hive	ŋunu	ŋunu
thorn	ŋwɛni / ŋɔni	ŋenin / ŋwɛyi / ŋeyin

g) Prenasals

The prenasals are generally preserved with sporadic voicing of the obstruent.

i. /ns/ is particularly unstable, resulting not only in /s/ /z/, /nz/, and /ns/, but also in various palatalizations, hence /nš/ and /nž/.

watermelon	zɛrɛ / nzɛrɛ / nsɛrɛ
baobab	sira (without exception)
thief	so (in the north) / nzo (in the south)
rust	zoo / nzo (north) / nšo / nžo (south)

The development of the phone /ž/ clearly links the southern Baninko with Ganadugu.

ii. nk : ng

squirrel	nkɛlɛ
lie	nkalo / nkalon (finya/finiya in the south)
cricket	nkɛɛrɛ / ngɛɛrɛ

lute	nkɔni / ngɔni
bitter tomato	nkɔyɔ / kɔyɔ
dew	nkɔmi
baboon	gɔɔ / gɔn

iii. nt : nd

Monday	ntɛnɛ / tnɛ
toad	ntɔri / tɔri
grasshopper	ntɔn (rarely: ndɔ)
oil palm	nte

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In those correspondences involving /g/, /b/, /w/, /f/, etc., the Baninko shows the following.

benediction	dugawu (dubawu, duwawu)
meat	soko / sogo
dream	siko / suko / sugo / sigo
dove	ntuka / ntuga / ntuba
vulture	duka / duga (duba, duwa)

b) Alveolar Stops

In those alternations of /t/, /d/ and /r/, the Baninko has /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	suru

c) Liquids

In the correspondences of /r/ and /l/, the Baninko shows a Bambara distribution, with occasional instances of /y/.

five	duuru
rope	juru
heavy	giri
canoe	kuru
fear	sira
run	boli / boyi / geyi
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	gala
beg	deli / deyi
how many	joyi / jeyi

d) Velar Stop Lenition

Velar stops are frequently dropped between two instances of /ɔ/, but there is no subsequent vowel lowering nor diphthongization.

salt	kɔɔ / kɔgɔ
name	tɔɔ / tɔgɔ
small	dɔɔ / dɔgɔ
person	mɔɔ / mɔgɔ
sleep	snɔɔ / sunɔɔ
sit	sigi / siki
eight	segin / šɛki
go	taa
kill	faga / faa

e) Palatals

Intervocalic palatal nasals have generally reduced and triggered palatalization of initial consonants.

heritage	cɛn
truth	cɛn / can
scratch	šyɛn
time	šyɛn
burn	jeni / jeyin / jenyi

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Labial and alveolar consonant clusters have reduced to their corresponding nasals. /nz/ alternates with /z/.

elephant	sama
dew	ŋkɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ
strength	faŋa
hunter	donzo
rabbit	sozaa / sonzaa

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In general, vowels reduce when occuring between certain obstruents and certain sonorants. Initial consonant change also results with the alveolar stops.

i. kl

share	kla
sun	kle
ear	klo
game	klo

ii. fl

flute	fle

two	fla
look	flɛ
age mate	flaa

iii. bl

entry hut	blo
leave, let	bla
red	ble

iv. bl / gl

beer	blɔ (sometimes: glɔ, ḷlɔ)
hang	glo / glon (sometimes: blon, ḷlon)
repair	gla
gown	blɔki / blɛki
root	gli

There is apparently a higher tendency towards /gl/ in the south, versus /bl/ in the north.

b) Nasalization

Nasalization of final vowels tends to reduce in isolation.

child	de
one	kele
head	ku
neck	kaa

Sometimes there is compensatory lengthening of the vowel with the loss of the nasal

c) Raising of Final /-a/

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in this area.

child	de
one	kele
leg	se
arm	bolo
woman	moso
horse	so

4. Tone

The tonal system appears to operate like the Segou system described above.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
a	ale
an	ánẁ / ánnù / ɔn
á	aŵ
u	òlû / ùlû

b) The Definite Article

The definite article operates tonally as in the Segou system.

c) The Plural

-w :	legs	sěnẁ
	snakes	sǎẁ

d) Possessives

la :	my money	n na wari
	his knife	a la muru

e) Emphatic

de :	The WOMAN left	muso de taara

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

In the Dioila area, the following forms appear:

He was farming	a tɛɛ ci kɛla
He was not farming	a tɛn cɛ ci kɛla a tɛn tɛ ci kɛla

In the Massigui area, the past marker is kùn.

He was farming	a kun ye sɛnɛ la
He was not farming	a kun tɛ sɛnɛ la

b) The Auxiliary System

The southern regions of the Baninko are marked by a discontinuous negative morpheme. Regardless of the negative, nin is placed at the end of the verb phrase.

i. The Completive

Our data reveals substantial variation in the formation of the completive. It seems however that there is a distinction between recent past or experiential, as opposed to a general completive.

General:	ye :	He bought cloth	a ye fini san
	ma :	He didn't buy cloth	a ma fini san
Recent:	baa :	He drank water	a baa ji mi
	ma :	He didn't drink water	a ma ji mi

There are a number of variants on the recent past forms.

Massigui:	He drank water	a ye baa ji mi
	He didn't drink water	a tɛ baa ji mi nin
Serebla:	He drank water	a baa ji mi
	He didn't drink water	a tɛɛ ji mi nin

ii. Past Participial

This is the form generally provided for the expression of accomplished action in the past for intransitive verbs. It consists of a nasal suffix -n on the verb, followed by the auxiliary ye (or negative tɛ or cɛ).

He has gone out	a bwɔn ye
He hasn't gone out	a bwɔn cɛ
He has died	a san ye
he hasn't died	a san tɛ

iii. Hypothetical Completive

maa : Were it to rot . . . a maa toyi

iv. General Noncompletive

bi / bɛ / ye :	He drinks water	a bɛ ji mi
ti / tɛ :	He doesn't drink water	a tɛ ji mi

v. Progressive

There are two forms:

i. ye ka :	He is drinking water	a ye ka ji mi
tɛ / cɛ ka :	He isn't drinking water	a cɛ ka ji mi
ii. ye (NP) V-la :	He is drinking water	a ye ji minna
cɛ / tɛ (NP) V-la :	He isn't drinking water	a cɛ ji minna

vi. Future

Future time can be expressed with the general noncompletive or the progressive forms listed above. There are also the following forms in use:

Serebla:	He will leave	a ye nele bɔ
	He won't leave	a tɛ nele bɔ nin
Fasiriman:	He will leave	a ni na bɔ
	He won't leave	a ti na bɔ
Dioila:	He will leave	a na gwɔ
	He won't leave	a tan gwɔ

vii. Imperative

Dioila:	Leave!	á gwɔ!
	Don't leave!	á tan gwɔ!
Serebla:	Don't leave!	á kini bwɔla nin!
Massigui:	Leave!	á ye gwɔ!
	Don't leave!	á kana gwɔ nin!

viii. Hortative

Generally ka :	May God save you	Ala k'i kisi

In Serebla, we find ye:

May God save you   Ala y'i kisi

ix. Subjunctive

ka : I want him to leave   n y'a fɛ / sɛ a ka gwɔ

In the southern areas, there is no auxiliary in this position:

I want him to leave   n y'a sɛ a gwɔ

x. Infinitive

In all of our data, there is no expressed infinitive marker.

He wants to leave   a y'a sɛ gwɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

The locative postposition is most generally rɔ. We also find lɔ in parts of the south and la in Beleko.

Massigui:	Madu is in the field	Madu ye foro lɔ
	Madu isn't in the field	Madu tɛ foro lɔ nin

b) Relational

The relational postposition is ye (or e)

Madu became a smith   Madu kɛra numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

South:	yɛɛ / ɛɛ :	It's the smith	numu yɛɛ
	tɛ nin :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ nin
Beleko:	do :	It's the smith	numu do
	cɛ :	It's not the smith	numu cɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

ye ... ye :	He is the smith	a ye numu ye
cɛ / tɛ ... ye (nin):	He isn't the smith	a cɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjective

ka :	It's good	a ka ji
man :	It's not good	a man ji

d) Existential

ye :	It's cold	nɛnɛ ye
cɛ / tɛ (nin):	It's not cold	nɛnɛ cɛ (nin)

e) Locative

ye / e :	He is in the field	a ye foro rɔ
cɛ / tɛ (nin):	He isn't in the field	a cɛ foro rɔ

In Beleko, we find:

bɛ :	He is in the field	a bɛ foro la
tɛ :	He isn't in the field	a tɛ foro la

A10. The Jitumu, Keleyadugu, Cakadugu, Jamadugu.

The Jitumu is the area lying to the east of the Niger River, beginnig just south of Bamako and Baguineda. It extends southward to the Sankarani River. It's southern limits are the Baya and Cakadugu regions. and, further to the east, the Keleyadugu Region, along the Farakoba. Both Cakadugu and Keleyadugu are small cantons, which separate the Jitumu from the Wasulu. In the east, the Jitumu is bordered by the Jamadugu region which, itself, extends from the village of Dyena east to the Banifin.

The peoples of these areas consider themselves Bambara, and distinguish their speech from the neighboring Mande, although, as will be evident in the following discussion, this a transitional area where many of the criteria vary from speaker to speaker, and, not infrequently, within the same idiolect.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternation of /f/, /p/, /h/, the Jitumu has /f/.

donkey	fali
father	fa
two	fila

b) Alveolars

i. In the alternation of /d/ and /l/, one finds instances of both.

	Welessebougou	Dialakoroba
root	lili	dili
lie down	da	da
star	lolo	lolo
honey	di	di

ii. In the correspondences of /d/, /l/, and /j/, we find the following:

give	di / ji
stop	jɔ

c) Palatalizations

i. The forms of Bamara /c/ corresponding to /k/ and /t/ are widespread.

man	cɛ
good looks	cɛnyuman
sand	ncɛn
bite	kin
heritage	cɛn
break	ci
manner	cogoya
between	cɛ
truth	cɛn / cɔn
many	caman

ii. Those instances of palatalized /s/ resulting from an intervocalic /y/, almost all appear as /sy/ or /šy/.

bean	šɔ
swear	šyɛn

chicken	šyɛ
scratch	šyan

iii. /s/ is palatalized to /sy/ or /s/ preceding high vowels in the area of Welessebougou as well as in Keleyadugu.

d) Palatals

In the alternations between /j/ and /y/, one finds predominantly /y/.

show	yira
fry	yiran
free	yiri
here	yan
see	ye

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the alternation of /gb/, /gw/ and /g/, one finds predominantly /g/, sometimes /gw/, and never /gb/.

	Jitumu	Keleyadugu
kitchen	gabugu	gwabugu
hard	gɛlɛn / gwɛlɛn	gwɛlɛn
bad	go	gwo
skin	golo	gwolo
heavy	gilin / gwilin	gwilin

ii. In the alternation of /k/ and /x/, one finds only /k/.

man	kɛ
neck	kan
elder	kɔrɔ

f) Prenasals

Almost all the prenasals are intact in the Jitumu, except for some relatively rare instances of /z/ corresponding to /ns/.

thief	nsòn
rust	nsón
rabbit	nsonsan
Monday	ntnɛ
toad	ntɔri
cricket	ncɛrɛn
lute	nkɔni

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In those alternations involving /b/, /g/, /w/, and /gb/, one finds substantial variation.

meat	sogo
dream	siko / sigo / sibo
dove	ntuban
benediction	dubabu / duwawu
vulture	duka / duga

b) Alveolar Stops

In those cases where there is an alternation between /r/, /d/, and /t/, one generally finds /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	surun

c) Liquids

This is a transitional area in the alternation of intervocalic /r/ and /l/. A great deal of regional and individual variation can be observed.

five	duuru
rope	juru
heavy	girin / gwirin
canoe	kulun
fear	siran
run	bori / boli
sew	kara / kala
moon	kalo / karo
indigo	gwala / kara / gala

d) Velar Stops

/g/ and /k/ alternate freely intervocalically. There are very few instances of the loss of intervocalic velar stops.

go	táka / tága
kill	fàka / fàga
young	dɔ́kɔn / dɔ́gɔn
sit	siki / sigi
eight	sekin

e) Palatals

By and large, medial palatal nasals have reduced to palatalizing the initial consonant. There are, however, enough exceptions to mark this as another transitional characteristic.

	Diallakoroba	Welessebougou
blow	fyɛ	fyɛ
fault	finyɛ	fyɛn
heritage	cyɛn	tnyɛ
truth	cɔn	tyan
swear	šyɛn	šɛn
time	senyan	senya / syɛn

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

The labial and alveolar clusters have reduced to simple nasals. The velars are generally represented by /ŋg/.

elephant	sama
dew	nkɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ
force	faŋga

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

The Jitumu is generally marked by vowel reduction, and subsequent initial consonant change.

i. tl : kl

	Jitumu	Keleyadugu	Cakadugu
share	kla	tla	tla
sun	kle	tle	tle
ear	klo	tlo	tlo
game	klon	tlo	tlon

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
age mate	flan

iii. bl

entry hut	blon
leave, let	bla
red	blen

iv. dl : gl : bl

alcoholic drink	blɔ
repair	glan
gown	blɔki / dleki
lake	bla

b) Vowel Nasalization

In general, nasalized vowels are retained in all contexts.

neck	kan
child	den
head	kun
breast	sin

c) Raising of Final /a/

In most cases, /a/ raises to /ɛ/, but the number of exceptions indicates that this again is a transition zone.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ / nyina
rainy season	seminya / semiyan

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in the Jitumu.

child	den
one	kelen
horse	so
arm	bolo

4. Tone

Tone appears to operate as described in the introductory section, but the tonal operation of the definite article seems to differ in unexplained ways.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

The regular pronouns are the same across these regions. The emphatic pronouns have some Maninka influence in Cakadugu.

Regular	Emphatic	
	Jitumu	Cakadugu
n	ne	ne
i	e	e
a	ale	ale
an	anw	ân
aw	aw	áỳ
u	olu	ày

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is expressed tonally, but its operation is not fully understood.

c) The Plural Marker

	Jitumu	Cakadugu
before nasal	-w	-nu
elsewhere	-w	-lu

d) Possessives

Jitumu	Cakadugu
ka	la

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

Jitumu	Keleyadugu	Cakadugu
tùn	kùn	tɛ̀ɛ

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans.:	Jitumu ye :	He drank it.	a ye a min
	Welessebugu nyɔn :	"	a nyɔn a min
	Cakadugu na :	"	a na a min
intrans.:	all dialects -ra :	He left	a bɔra
negative:	all dialects ma :		
		He didn't leave	a ma bɔ

except Welessebugu nyɔn tɛ :

He didn't drink water — a nyɔn tɛ ji min

ii. Past Participial

all dialects -len :	He is out	a bɔlen
-len tɛ :	He isn't out	a bɔlen tɛ

iii. Hypothetical Completive

Generally formed with ni followed by the general completive.

If he goes out . . .	ni a bɔra . . .

However, the auxiliary ya was observed in Jalakoroba

If he goes out . . .	ni a ya bɔ . . .

iv. General Noncompletive

all dialects	bɛ :	He goes out	a bɛ bɔ
	tɛ :	He doesn't go out	a tɛ bɔ

v. Future

(Can be replaced by the general noncompletive.)

all dialects	bɛ na :	He will go out	a bɛ na bɔ
	tɛ na :	He will not go out	a tɛ na bɔ

vi. Progressive

Jitumu - Keleyadugu

bɛ ka :	He's leaving	a bɛ ka bɔ
tɛ ka :	He's not leaving	a tɛ ka bɔ

Cakadugu ∅ Aux V-la :

This form is often accompanied by a lengthening of the pronoun.

He is drinking the water	a: ji minna
He is not drinking the water	a tɛ ji minna

vii. Imperative

Sing.	(NP) V :	Leave!	bɔ!
Plu.	á ye (NP) V :	Leave!	á ye bɔ!
Neg:	(Pro) kana V :	Don't leave!	kana bɔ! á kana bɔ!

viii. Hortative

ka / kɛ : God bless you — Ala kɛ hɛrɛ kɛ i ye

ix. The Subjunctive

all dialects ka / kɛ :

I want him to leave — n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ

x. The Infinitive

all dialects ka :

I want to leave — n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) The General Locative

Jitumu-Keleyadugu	la
Cakadugu	ra

b) Relational

General ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identity

dòn : It's the smith — numû don

tɛ́ : It's not the smith — numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominals

Madu is the smith	Madu ye numu ye
Madu is not the smith	Madu tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjectives

ka : It's good — a ka di

man : It's not good — a man di

d) Existential

bɛ :	It's cold	nɛnɛ bɛ
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

One finds both the auxiliary *bɛ* and *ye* used, with *ye* occurring further to the south.

He's in the field	a bɛ forô la
	a ye forô la

A11. Bougouni and Environs.

The area around Bougouni is composed of a number of small Bambara cantons which for the most part are linguistic and cultural extensions of the Jitumu and Baninko.

Bougouni itself is in a small area called Banimonicε, literally 'between the river and the Moni,' 'the river' in this case being the Baoule.

To the north, Banimonicε is bordered by Jalakadugu, of which the major town is Sido. To the east is Cedugu, of which the major town is Zanciebougou. To the south is Cemala, of which the major town is Denie-Kɔlogo, and to the west is Kurulεmini, of which the major town is Tenintou.

Our data centers primarily on Kurulamini, but we will make occasional observations on contrasts with Jalakadugu.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

With regard to the alternations of /f/, /p/, /h/, the Bougouni region has /f/.

better	fsa
thin	fasa
father	fa
blow	fyε

b) Labializations

There is sporadic labialization of labials and velars followed by back vowels.

dung	bwɔ
back	kwɔ

c) Alveolars

In the alternations of /d/, /l/ and /j/ this region has great variation.

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
give	di / ji	di
root	lili	lili
lie down	da	la
star	lolo	lolo
stop	jɔ	lɔ
honey	di / ndi	li
stranger	dnan / gnan	lolan

d) Palatals

In the alternations of /j/ and /y/, /g/ tends to predominate.

show	yira
fry	yiran
tree	yiri
fish	jɛgɛ / jigɛ
here	yan
see	ye

e) Palatalizations

1. In the alternations of /c/, /k/ and /t/, the Bougouni area tends towards palatalization.

handsome	cɛnyi
man	cɛ

sand	cɛn / kinyɛ
bite	kin
heritage	cɛn / tinyɛ
break	ci
between	cɛ
truth	can / tinya

ii. One finds numerous instances of /š/ or /sy/ resulting from the modification of a medial consonant.

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
beans	šɔ / syɔ	suyɔ / sɔsɔ
swear	šyɛn / sinyɛ	šyɛn
chicken	šɛ / syɛ	siyɛ
scratch	šɛn	šan
time	šyan	—
eight	syegin	syegin

iii. In Kurulamini, /s/ is palatalized before high vowels. In Jalakadugu, this process does not operate.

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
hair	ši	si
shea	ši	se
corpse	šu	su

iv. The word for 'many' is ca in Kurulamini and sya in Jalakadugu.

f) Velars and Labiovelars

i. There is substantial variation with respect to /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc..

kitchen	gba / gwa / ga
hard	gwɛlɛn / gɛlɛn
bad	go
skin	golo
heavy	gwili / gili / glin

ii. With respect to the alternation of /k/ and /x/, Bougouni always has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kɔ

iii. With regard to velar nasals, Bougouni has the following:

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
hero	ŋana	ŋmana
rash	ŋwɛnyɛ	ŋmanya
hive	ŋgwan	ŋgban
crawl	ŋumuma / munuma	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋwɛni	ŋmeni

g) Prenasals

Prenasals are generally preserved, but /ns/ is often rendered /nz/ or /z/ in Kurulamini.

i. ns : nz : z

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
baobab	sira	sira
thief	zon / zun	nson
rust	nzon / nzun	nson
rabbit	nzonzan / zunzani	nsonsan

ii. nk

squirrel	nkɛrɛnin
cricket	nkɛɛrɛ / nkɛrɛn
lute	nkɔni / ngɔni
bitter tomato	nkɔyɔ
dew	nkɔmi
baboon	ngɔn (nkɔnyɔ)

iii. nt

Monday	ntɛnɛn
toad	ntɔri
grasshopper	ntɔn
oil palm	nten

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, and Labivelars

In those correspondences involving /g/, /b/, /w/, /f/, etc., the Bougouni area has the following.

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
benediction	duwawu / duwabu	dubabu
meat	sogo	sɔbo
dream	sibo	subo
dove	ntubanin	ntubanin
vulture	duba / duwa	duba

b) Alveolar Stops

In those alternations of /t/, /d/ and /r/, Bougouni has /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	surun

c) Liquids

In the alternations of /r/ and /l/, one finds the following in the Bougouni region.

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
five	duuru	loolu
rope	juru	julu
heavy	glin / gili	gwili
canoe	kulun	kulun
fear	siran	silan
run	bori / boli	bori
sew	kara	kara
moon	kalo	karo
indigo	kara / gala	kara

d) Velar Stop Lenition

Velar stops are generally preserved.

salt	kɔgɔ / kɔɔ
name	tɔgɔ
small	dɔgɔ
sit	sigi
eight	syekin
go	taga
kill	faga

e) Palatals

Intervocalic palatal nasals have been reduced and trigger initial consonant palatalization in most cases.

heritage	cɛn (rarely tinyɛ)
truth	cɛn (rarely tinya)
scratch	šan / šɛn
time	syan

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Labial and alveolar consonant clusters have been reduced to their corresponding nasals. Velar ans /s/ clusters have been retained.

elephant	sama
dew	nkɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ
strength	faŋga
hunter	donson / donzo

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In general, vowels reduce in Kurulamini, but remain intact afteralveolars in Jalakadugu. There are sporadic modifications of initial consonants.

i. kl

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
divide	kla / tla	rɔtala
sun	tle	tele
ear	tlo	tolo
game	tlon	tolon

ii. fl

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
flute	fle	fle
two	fla	fla
age mate	flan	flan

iii. bl

	Kurulamini	Jalakadugu
entry hut	blon	blon
leave	bla	bla
red	blen	wulen

iv. dl : bl

	Korolamini	Jalakadugu
beer	dɔlɔ / blɔ	dɔlɔ
hang	dlon	dlon
repair	dla	dlan
gown	dleki / blɔki	dereke
root	dala / bla	dala

f) Nasalization

Nasalization of final vowels is generally retained.

neck	kan
head	kun
child	den
enter	don
black	fin

c) Raising of Final -a

In Kurulamini, final /a/ raises to /ɛ/. In Jalakadugu, it remains unchanged.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in the Bougouni area.

child	den
one	kelen
arm	bolo
horse	so

4. Tone

Tone operates according to the Bamako system described above.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
à	ale
án	ánẁ
á	áẁ
u (Jalakadugu: ày)	olu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is represented by tone and operates according to the Bamako system.

c) The Plural

ù :	teeth	nyin-u
	snakes	sǎ-u

d) Possessives

Both la and ka are current.

his knife	a la muru / a ka muru

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tɛɛ :	He was farming	a tɛɛ ye sɛnɛ la

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

Two transitive forms are found in Kurulamini:

He drank the water	a ka ji min
	a ye ji min

Both are negated with ma :

He didn't drink water	a ma ji min

Intransitive -ra :	He left	a bɔra
	He didn't leave	a ma bɔ

ii. The Hypothetical Completive

The hypothetical completive can be expressed with ni followed by the general completive.

Were he to leave . . .	ni a bɔra . . .

iii. General Noncompletive

bɛ :	He drinks water	a bɛ ji min
tɛ :	He doesn't drink water	a tɛ ji min

iv. **Progressive**

bɛ / ye (NP) V-la : He's drinking   a ye ji minna

tɛ (NP) V-la : He's not drinking   a tɛ ji minna

v. **Future**

bɛna : He will leave   a bɛna bɔ

tɛna : He won't leave   a tɛna bɔ

vi. **Imperative**

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
Leave!	á ye bɔ!
Don't leave!	á kana bɔ!

vii. **Hortative**

ka / kɛ : May God bless you.   Ala kɛ duwawu k'iye

viii. **Subjunctive**

kɛ : I want him to leave   n b'a fɛ a kɛ bɔ

ix. **Infinitive**

ka : I want to leave   n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. **Postpositions**

a) **Locative**

la : Madu is in the field   Madu ye foro la

b) **Relational**

ye : Madu is a smith   Madu ye numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

do :	It's the smith	numu do
tɛ :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

ye ... ye :	Madu is the smith	Madu ye numu ye
tɛ ... ye :	Madu is not the smith	Madu tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjective

ka :	It's good	a ka ji
man :	It's not good	a man ji

d) Existential

bɛ :	It's cold	nɛnɛ bɛ
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

ye :	Madu is in the field	Madu ye foro la
tɛ :	Madu isn't in the field	Madu tɛ foro la

A12. Gwandugu and Shendugu.

These are two traditional regions lying between the tributaries of the Baoule and Bagoe. The northern boundary of Gwandugu is the Baninko region just south of Massigui. The eastern border is the Bagoe and Ganadugu, the principal town of which is Niena. The western border is Cedugu. South of Gwandugu is Shendugu, the major town of which is Kolondieba. It's western limits are defined by the Banifin tributary of the Bagoe.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternation of /f/, /p/ and /h/, these areas have /f/.

better	fsa
thin	fasa
two	fla
father	fa
blow	fyɛ

b) Labialization

Labialization of labials and velars followed by back vowels is common.

bag	bwɔrɔ
dung	bwo
leave	bwɔ
back	kwɔ
wash	kwo

c) Alveolars

In the alternations of /d/, /l/ and /j/, these regions have the following:

	Gwandugu	Shendugu
give	ji	di / ji
lie down	da	da
star	jolo	jolo
stop	jɔ	dɔ (jɔ)
honey	nji	li / nji
stranger	dnɔn	dnɔn

d) Palatals

In the alternation between /j/ and /y/, /y/ tends to predominate in these areas.

show	yira
fry	yiran
tree	yiri
fish	jigɛ
here	yan
see	ye

e) Palatalizations

i. In the alternations of /k/, /t/ and /c/, /c/ tends to predominate.

handsome	cɛnyi
man	cɛ
sand	cɛn
bite	kin
heritage	cɛn

break	ci
between	cɛ
truth	knyɛ / tnyɛ / tinya / can (Gwandugu)

ii. With regard to palatalization of /s/ arising from the modification of medial consonants, these areas show the following:

beans	šɔ (rarely: šyɔ)
swear	šyɛn (Gwandugu: fyɛn)
chicken	šyɛ
scratch	šan
time	šyɛn

iii. /s/ palatalizes to /š/ before high vowels

hair	ši
shea	ši
corpse	šu
eight	šeegin

iv. The word for 'many' has the following variants:

Gwandugu	Shendugu
sa / šya	sya / šya / ša

v. One also finds correspondences between /š/, /fy/, /f/.

by, with	šɛ / sɛ

f) Velars and Labiovelars

i. There is a great deal of variation in these regions with respect to the /gb/, /gw/, /g/ correspondences.

kitchen	gwa
hard	gwεlε (more rarely: gbεlε)
bad	gbo / gwo / go / bwo / bo
skin	golo
heavy	gwili / gbili (gwiri in Gwandugu)

ii. In the correspondences of /x/ and /k/, these regions have /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kwɔ

iii. With respect to the velar nasal /ŋ/, these regions have:

	Gwandugu	Shendugu
hero	ŋwana	ŋmana / ŋwana / ŋana
rash	ŋwεnyε / ŋmεnyε	ŋmεnyε / ŋwεnyε
crawl	ŋunuma	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋweni / ŋwi	ŋmi / ŋwi

g) Prenasals

Prenasals are generally preserved before stops. /ns/ often corresponds to /z/ or /ž/.

i. z : nz : nž

watermelon	zεrε (rarely: nvyεrε < nfyεrε)
baobab	sira
thief	nzon / zon / nzoo
rust	nžon / žon / nžo
rabbit	sonzan / sonsan

ii. nk

squirrel	nkɛlɛnni
lie	nkalo (finya)
cricket	nkɛɛrɛ (rarely: ngɛɛrɛ)
lute	nkɔni
bitter tomato	nkɔyɔ
dew	nkɔmi
baboon	gɔn (Gwandugu: gbɔn / gwɔn)

iii. t : nt

Monday	ntnɛ / ntɛ / tɛnɛn / knɛ
toad	ntɔri
grasshopper	ncɔn
oil palm	nten / nte

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In this set of correspondences, these regions have the following:

benediction	dubabu
meat	sogo
dream	ɣuko
dove	ntubanin
vulture	duba

b) Alveolar Stops

In those alternations of /t/, /d/ and /r/, these regions have /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	suru

c) Liquids

In the correspondences of /r/ and /l/, these regions have the following:

five	duuru
rope	juru
heavy	gwiri (Shendugu: gwili / gbili)
canoe	kurun
fear	siran / sira
run	bori / beri (Gwandugu: boli / beyi)
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	nkara / ngara (Gwandugu: gbala / gwala)

In Shendugu, one finds frequent instances of /y/.

one	keyen
how many	jeyi

d) Velar Stop Lenition

A striking characteristic of these regions is the lenition of velar stops to a glottal stop /'/ between two instances of /ɔ/ or /a/. Otherwise, /k/ and /g/ alternate.

	Gwandugu	Shendugu
salt	kɔ'ɔ	kɔɔ / kɔ'ɔ
name	tɔ'ɔ	tɔɔ / tɔ'ɔ
small	dɔ'ɔ	dɔɔ / dɔ'ɔ
person	mɔ'ɔ	mɔɔ / mɔ'ɔ

	Gwandugu	Shendugu
go	ta'a	taa / taga
kill	fa'a	faa / faga
sit	sigi	siki / sigi / sii
twenty	muka / mugan	muga / mugan

e) Palatals

Intervocalic palatal nasals have generally reduced resulting in the palatalization of initial consonants.

heritage	cɛn
truth	can (Shendugu: knya)
scratch	šan / šɛn
time	šɛn / šyɛn

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Labial and alveolar stop clusters have reduced to their respective nasals. /ns/ is often produced as /nz/.

elephant	sama
dew	nkɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ
strength	faŋga
hunter	donso / donzo
rabbit	sonzan / sonzaa

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In general, vowels reduce and the alveolar stops are subject to change.

i. kl

share	kla (original word, nyi)
sun	kle
ear	klo
game	klon

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
look	flɛ
age mate	flan

iii. bl

entry hut	blon
leave	bla
red	blen / ble

iv. bl : dl

beer	blɔ
hang	blon / glo / dun
gown	blɔki (rare: dereki)
lake	bla
root	bli

b) Nasalization

Nasalization drops frequently when words are cited in isolation, but appears to return in context. There appears also to be some compensatory lengthening.

child	de:	one child	den kelen
head	ku:	head bone	kun kolo

c) Raising of final /-a/

/a/ is generally raised to /ɛ/ in this context.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinɛ
rainy season	samiyɛ

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/.

This process does not operate in these regions.

child	dee
one	kele
leg	see
arm	bolo
woman	moso
horse	so

4. Tone

The tone appears to operate according to the Bamako system described above.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
a	ale
an	annu
á	áẁ
u	olu (oru in Gwandugu)

b) The Definite Article

The definite article in these regions is expressed tonally according to the Bamako system.

c) The Plural Marker

u :	legs	sĕn-ù
	snakes	săù

In Kolondieba, one finds some instances of *lu*.

legs	sĕnnù
snakes	sălù

d) Possessive

la :	his knife	a la muru
	my knife	n na muru

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

kin :	He was farming	a kin ye sɛnɛ ra
	He wasn't farming	a kin ti sɛnɛ ra

b) The Auxiliary System

It is to be noted that there is a consistent double negation marker *nin* throughout these regions.

i. The General Completive

trans. *nyɔn* :	He drank water	a nyɔn ji min
nyɔn ti ... nin :	He didn't drink water	a nyɔn ti ji min nin

One also finds the double negation marker *nin* reduced to *ni* and *i* or *yi*.

He didn't drink water a nyɔn ti ji min i

intrans.: All instances of the general completive intransitive were formed in our sample as stative completives.

ii. Past Participial

He left	a bɔn e
He didn't leave	a bɔn ti ba nin
He is dead	a san ye
He isn't dead	a san ti nin

iii. Hypothetical Completive

maa : Should he leave . . . a maa bwɔ . . .

iv. General Noncompletive

ye / ti ... nin :

The ye often reduces with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

He drinks water	a: ji min
He doesn't drink water	a ti ji min nin

v. Progressive

There are two forms:

1) ye (NP) V-la : He is drinking water a: ji minna

ti (NP) V-la nin : He isn't drinking water

a ti ji minna nin

2) ye ka : He is drinking water a: ka ji min

ti ka ... nin : He isn't drinking water

a ti ka ji min nin

vii. Imperative

Leave!	bwɔ!
Don't leave!	kini bwɔ nin!
Leave! (plu.)	a: bwɔ!
Don't leave!	a kini bwɔ!

viii. Hortative

Generally no auxiliary:

May God bless you	Ala dubabu don i ye.

ix. Subjunctive : ki

I want to leave	ki n y'a šɛ a ki bwɔ

x. Infinitive

The infinitive complement generally has a 0 auxiliary:

I want to leave	n y'a šɛ bwɔ
I want to drink water	n y'a šɛ ji min

3. Postpositions

a) The General Locative

rɔ with instances of lɔ :

Madu is in the field	Madu: foro rɔ

b) The Relational

ye / 0 :

Madu is a blacksmith	Madu: numu

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

yeɛ :	It's the smith	numu yɛ
tɛ nin :	Its not the smith	numu tɛ nin

b) Predicate Nominal

Madu is the smith	Madu: numu le
	Madu: numu ye
Madu is not the smith	Madu tɛ numu le nin

c) Predicate Adjectives

Two patterns are found in both regions:

i.	ka :	It's good	a ka ji
	mɛn :	It's not good	a mɛn ji
ii.	Ø :	It's good	a: ji
	mɛn :	It's not good	a mɛn ji

d) Existential

yɛ :	It's cold	nɛnɛ yɛ
tɛ nin :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ nin

e) Locative

Ø :	Madu's in the field	Madu: foro rɔ
tɛ ... nin :	Madu's not in the field	Madu tɛ foro rɔ nin

A13. Ganadugu.

Like many other traditional regions, the borders of Ganadugu have varied greatly over time. Today, most people associate Ganadugu with the areas straddling the Baoule River, incorporating the towns of Niamala, Falani, and Niendjila on the west bank and Blendio, Ntjila and Niena to the east of the river. Niena is considered to be the original center of Ganadugu. We have associated Kinian to Ganadugu, primarily because of its linguistic affinities with the area.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

With respect to the alternations of /f/ and /p/, Ganadugu has /f/.

better	fisa
thin	fasa
two	fila
father	fa
blow	fyɛ
fault	fyɛn / finyɛ

b) Labializations

Labializations are not uncommon.

go out	gbɔ / gwɔ / bwɔ
dung	bo / bwo / gbo
bag	bɔrɔ / bwɔrɔ / gbɔrɔ

c) Alveolars

In the set of correspondences /d/, /l/, /j/, Ganadugu has the following:

give	ji (rarely: di)
root	gili
lie down	da
star	jolo
stop	jɔ
honey	ji (Kinian: di)

d) Palatals

In the alternations between /j/ and /y/, Ganadugu has primarily /y/.

show	yira
fry	yiran
tree	yiri
fish	jɛgɛ
here	yan
see	ye

e) Palatalizations

i. In the alternations of /c/, /t/ and /k/, Ganadugu has primarily /c/.

handsome	cɛnyi
man	cɛ
sand	cɛncɛn
bite	kin
heritage	cɛn

break	ci
manner	cogo (Kinian: togɔ)
between	cɛ
truth	can (Kinian: cɛn)

ii. With regard to palatalizations of /s/ arising from the modification of medial consonants, Ganadugu has primarily /š/ or /šy/.

beans	šɔ / šyɔ
swear	šyɛn (Ganadugu: fyɛ / fyɛn)
chicken	šɛ / šyɛ
scratch	šan / šyan
time	šan / šyan (Kinian: šyɛn)

iii. With palatalizations of /s/ triggered by high vowels, Ganadugu has /š/.

hair	ši
shea	ši
corpse	šu
eight	šekin / syekin / seegin

iv. The word for 'many' is sya in Ganadugu and šan / ca in Kinian.

f) Velars and Labiovelars

i. For the most part, /gb/ has been reduced to /g/.

kitchen	ga
hard	gɛlɛ / gɛlɛn
bad	go / bwo
skin	golo / golon

heavy	giri / girin

ii. There is no /x/ in Ganadugu.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kɔ / kwɔ

iii. With respect to the velar nasal, Ganadugu has the following:

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋenyɛ / nyɛnɛ
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋɛni / nyɛni

g) Prenasals

Prenasalized /ns/ is quite unstable. /nt/ and /nk/ on the other hand are fairly consistent.

1. /nz/ : /nž/, etc

Like Gwandugu, Ganadugu has developed a phone /z/ from this context.

watermelon	zerɛ /nzɛrɛ
baobab	sira
thief	nzoo / son / zoo
rust	nžo / žon / zo
rabbit	sonzan

ii. /nk/ : /ng/

squirrel	nkɛlɛnin
lie	nkalon
cricket	nkɛɛrɛ / ngɛɛrɛ
bitter tomato	nkɔyɔ

dew	nkɔmi
baboon	gɔn / gɔ / ngɔn

iii. /nt/

Monday	ntɛnɛn
toad	ntɔri
grasshopper	ntɔn
oil palm	nten

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

With regard to these alternations Ganadugu has:

benediction	duwawu / dubawu / dubabu
meat	sogo / soko
dream	Šugo (Kinian: sigo / sigon)
dove	ntubanin (rarely: ntuganin)
vulture	duba (rarely: duga)

b) Alveolar Stops

In the set of correspondences /t/, /d/ and /r/, Ganadugu has /r/.

tie	siri
elder	korɔ
short	suru

c) Liquids

With respect to the alternations of /l/ and /r/, Ganadugu shows the Bambara pattern.

five	duuru
rope	juru
heavy	giri
canoe	kuru
fear	siran
run	boli / beli
sew	kala
moon	kalo
indigo	gala

d) Velar Stops

Velar stops alternate between /k/ and /g/, there is rarely any deletion.

salt	kɔkɔ / kɔkɔ
name	tɔkɔ / tɔgɔ
person	mɔkɔ / mɔgɔ
sit	siki / sigi
twenty	muka / muga / mugan
go	taga (Kinian: taa)
kill	faga

e) Palatals

Palatal nasals are in general reduced, and trigger the palatalization of initial consonants.

heritage	cɛn
truth	can
scratch	šyan
time	šyan / šyɛn

g) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

The labial and alveolar clusters have been reduced to their corresponding nasals. /ns/ and /nk/, /ng/ are still stable.

elephant	sama
dew	nkɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ
strength	fanga
hunter	donzo / donso
rabbit	sonzan

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

In general, vowels reduce and initial consonants are subject to change. In this region, without exception, alveolar stops change to velars.

i. kl

share	kla
sun	kle
ear	klo
game	klon

ii. fl

flute	fle
two	fla
look	flɛ
age mate	flan

iii. bl

entry hut	blon
leave	bla
red	blen

iv. gl

beer	glɔ
hang	glon
repair	glan
gown	gleki / gloki
root	gli
stranger	gnan / gnɔn

b) Nasalization

Nasalization drops frequently, but is picked up again in context.

Nasalization spreads among a number of speakers to words not nasalized further to the west.

meat	sogon
hunter	donson
ear	klon
skin	golon

c) Raising of Final -a

Final -a raises in this context in Ganadugu.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinyɛ
rainy season	saminya (Kinian: saminyɛ)

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in Ganadugu.

4. Tone

The tonal system seems to operate much like the Segou system described above.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
a	ale
an	ân
á	áà
u	u / olu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is tonal and operates according to the Segou system.

c) The Plural Marker

	Ganadugu	Kinian
	lu	u
teeth	nyinlu	nyin-u
snakes	salu	sǎù

Note that the plural *lu* does *not* change to *nu* after a nasal.

d) **Possessives**

	Ganadugu	Kinian
	la	ka
his knife	a la muru	a ka muru
my knife	n na muru	n ka muru

2. **The Verb Phrase**

a) **The Past Marker**

kun (rarely kin) :

He was farming   a kun bɛ sɛnɛ la

b) **The Auxiliary System**

As in neighboring areas, there is a double negation with ni in Ganadugu, but not in Kinian.

i. **The General Completive**

trans.: There appear to be two forms. One may be the recent past, but our data is not sufficient to determine this.

1)	He drank water	a ba ji min
	He didn't drink water	a ta ji min ni
2)	He drank water	a ye ji min
	He didn't drink water	a ma ji min ni

intrans.: -ra : He went out   a bɔra

ma ... ni : He didn't go out   a ma bɔ ni

ii. **Past Participial**

He is out	a bɔn ye
He isn't out	a bɔn tɛ ni

iii. Hypothetical Completive

maa : Were it to rot ... a maa toli ...

iv. General Noncompletive

bɛ / ye : He drinks water a: ji min

tɛ ... ni : He doesn't drink water a tɛ ji min ni

v. Progressive

1) bɛ / ye (NP) V-la :

He is drinking water a: ji minna

tɛ (NP) V-la (ba) ni :

He isn't drinking water a tɛ ji minna ba ni

2) bɛ / ye ka : He is drinking water a: ka ji min

tɛ ka ... ni : He isn't drinking water a tɛ ka ji min ni

vi. Future

bɛ na : He will drink water a bɛ na ji min

tɛ na ... ni : He won't drink water a tɛ na ji min ni

vii. Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave	kana bɔ!
Leave! (pl.)	á ye bɔ!
Don't leave!	á kana bɔ!

viii. Hortative

ka : May God save you Ala k'i kiši

ix. Subjunctive

ka : I want him to leave n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ

x. Infinitive

Ø : I want to leave   n b'a fɛ bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

Kinian: la / ra

Ganadugu: rɔ (rarely la)

He is in the field   a: foro rɔ

b) Relational

ye / e : He became a smith   a kɛra numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

Kinian:	don / do :	It's the smith	numu do
	tɛ :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ
Ganadugu:	yɛɛ :	It's the smith	numu yɛɛ
	tɛ ni :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ ni

b) Predicate Nominal

Kinian:	ye ... ye :	He is the smith	a ye numu ye
	tɛ ... ye :	He isn't the smith	a tɛ numu ye
Ganadugu:	Ø .. ye :	He's the smith	a: numu ye
	tɛ ... ye ni :	He's not the smith	a tɛ numu ye ni

c) Predicate Adjectives

Kinian:	ka :	It's good	a ka di
	man :	It's not good	a man di
Ganadugu:	kɛ / Ø :	It's good	a: ji
	tɛ / ta ni :	It's not good	a ta ji ni

d) Existential

Ganadugu:	yɛ :	It's cold	nɛnɛ yɛ
	tɛ ni :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ ni
Kinian:	bɛ :	It's cold	nɛnɛ bɛ
	tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

Kinian:	bɛ :	He's in the field	a bɛ foro la
	tɛ :	Ne's not in the field	a tɛ foro la
Ganadugu:	Ø :	He's in the field	a: foro rɔ
	tɛ ... ni :	He's not in the field	a tɛ foro rɔ ni

A14. Sikasso and Environs.

Traditionally the region of which Sikasso is the captial is called Kenedougou. The limits of Kenedougou are in the northeast the Banifin River (the village of Kouoro), the border of Upper Volta in the east, the village of Kebeni to the south and the Bagoe River to the west. The village of Kinian to the north marked the center of the traditional region called Zegedugu.

Kenedugu is essentially a Syena (Senoufo) region, which today contains many Bambara villates. Many villages bordering the major roads are becoming bilingual as well.

The westernmost extensions of the Syena language are in the area of Ninkoni, where the Ganadugu Region begins.

To the south of Kenedugu is a traditional region called Folona, which is also primarily Syena. The major villages are Kadiolo, Fouron, and Misséni. In these villages, it is essentially the young people who speak Bambara.

There are many characteristics of the speech of these areas which resemble closely those of the Jula of the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta. There are also however important similarities with the Bambara dialects of San and Segou.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In those correspondences between /f/ and /p/, the Sikasso region generally has /f/.

better	fsa
thin	fasa (sometimes pasa)

b) Labialization

There is sporadic labialization in the Sikasso area.

dung	bo / bwo
bag	bɔrɔ / bwɔrɔ / bwɛrɛ

c) Alveolars

In the correspondences of /d/, /l/ and /j/, the Sikasso region has the following:

	North	South
give	di	di
lie down	la	da
star	lolo	lolo
stop	lɔ	jɔ
honey	li	li

The word for 'root' niiri is found throughout the area.

d) Palatals

In the alternation of /y/ and /j/, Sikasso region has predominantly /y/.

show	yira
fry	yiran
tree	yiri (South: yiri / jiri)
here	yan
see	ye

e) Palatalizations

i. In the alternations of /c/, /t/ and /k/, these areas have primarily /c/.

handsome	cɛnyi
man	cɛ
sand	South: cɛncɛn, North: kɛnkɛn
bite	kin
heritage	cɛn
break	ci
between	cɛ
truth	can / cɛn

ii. In palatalizations of /s/ arising from the modification of an intervocalic consonant, the Sikasso region has primarily /š/ or /šy/.

bean	šɔ
chicken	North: šɛ (šišɛ), South: šɛ / sisɛ
swear	šɛn / šyɛn
scratch	šɛn / šyɛn / šan
time	šyɛn (Kebeni: sinya)

iii. In palatalizations of /s/ preceding a high vowel, Sikasso has /s/.

hair	ši
shea	še
corpse	šu
eight	šegin
dream	šiko

f) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the alternations of /gb/, /gw/ and /g/, Sikasso has most frequently /g/.

kitchen	ga (sometimes: gwa)
hard	gɛlɛn (sometimes: gwɛlɛn)
bad	go
skin	golo
heavy	girin (sometimes: gwirin)

ii. In the alternations of /k/ and /x/, Sikasso has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
belly	kɔnɔ

iii. With respect to /ŋ/, Sikasso has:

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋanya'a / ŋwɛnyɛ
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋwɛni / ŋɛni / ŋɛnɛ

g) Prenasals

There is frequent loss of the prenasal element with concomittant voicing of the following obstruent.

i. z : s

watermelon	zɛrɛ
baobab	sira
thief	son / zon (rarely: nzon)
rust	zon / son (also: šɔn / žɔn in the south)
rabbit	sonzan

ii. ng : g : k

squirrel	gɛlɛni / ngɛlɛni (South: k ~ nk ~ ng)
lie	galon (rarely: kalon)
cricket	gɛɛrɛn / ngɛɛrɛn (rare: gɛgɛrɛn)
lute	gɔni / gɔnɔ / ngɔnɔ / ŋɔni / kɔni
bitter tomato	North: kɔyɔ / nkɔyɔ
	South: gɔyɔ (rare: ngɔyɔ)
dew	ngɔmi / gɔmi / nkɔmi (South: gɔmi)
baboon	gɔn / ngɔn

iii. nt : d

Monday	dɛnɛn (North: ntɛnɛn)
toad	dori / dɔrɔ / tɔri / ntɔri
grasshopper	ncɔn / jɔn (rarely: ntɔn)
oil palm	ten / den (rarely: nten)

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In these alternations, Sikasso has the following:

blessing	duga (duwa / dugabu / dugawu)
meat	sogo (rare: sogon)
dream	šiko / šuko / siko
dove	tugan / tuban / ntuganni (rare: ntufanni)
vulture	duga (also: duwa / dugɔ / duba)

b) Alveolar Stops

In the alternations of /t/, /d/ and /r/, Sikasso generally has /r/, but with some instances of /t/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	surun
thigh	woto

c) Liquids

In the alternations of /l/ and /r/ Sikasso has the following:

five	duuru
rope	juru
heavy	girin
canoe	kurun
fear	siran
run	boli / bori
cew	kala / kalan (Mid: karan)
moon	kalo
indigo	gala / jala / ngara

d) Velar Stops

/g/ appears to predominate over /k/ in intervocalic position. Some speakers in the central area reduce the velars to a glottal stop /'/.

	General	Central
salt	kɔkɔ	kɔ'ɔ
name	tɔgɔ	tɔgɔ
small	dɔgɔ	dɔ'ɔ
sit	sigi	sigi
twenty	mugan	mugan
kill	faga	faga / fa'a
go	taga	ta'a

e) Palatals

In the main, intervocalic palatal nasals have reduced, resulting in the palatalization of initial consonants.

heritage	cε / cεn
truth	cεn / can
swear	šyεn

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Labial and alveolar nasal plus consonant clusters have reduced to their nasal counterparts. /s/ and /k/ are generally found voiced.

elephant	sama
dew	ngɔmi
strength	faŋga
hunter	donzo

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

Vowels reduce, but consonant mutation is in great flux, varying considerably from speaker to speaker.

In our sample, speakers from the central area (Kebeni) only reduce partially and initial consonants are not modified.

	Kebeni
share	taran / tlan
sun	tere
ear	tolo
game	tlon
beer	dɔrɔ
hang	dlon / glon

(Kabeni, continued:)

fix	dlan
gown	dereki / dleki
lake	dalan

In the northern and southern regions, we have found almost every possible combination of initial consonant mutation and non-mutation. There are more instances of /gl/ corresponding to /dl/ in other dialects, than there are instances of /kl/ corresponding to /tl/. We present the following idiolects to illustrate the nonsystematic application of this process.

	I	II	III	IV	V
share	tla	klan	tila	klan	tlan
sun	tle	kle	kle	kle	tle
ear	tlo	klo	tlo	klo	klo
game	tlon	klon	tlon	klon	klon
beer	glɔ	dɔrɔ	glɔ	glɔ	glɔ
hang	glon	—	glon	glon	glon
fix	glan	dlan	gla	glan	glan
gown	gleki	gloki	glɔki	gleki	gleki
lake	dala	dalan	dlal	dalan	dalan

The word for 'root' over this entire area is niiri.

b) Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is generally retained.

entry hut	bolon
child	den

one	kelen
fall	ben

c) Raising of /-a/

This is a transitional area for this process. In the north and central sections (except Sikasso town) one generally finds /a/. In the south, one find /a/ and /ɛ/.

	North-Central	South
eye	nya	nyɛ
mouse	nyina	nyinɛ / nyina

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in the Sikasso region.

child	den
one	kelen
arm	bolo
horse	so

4. Tone

The tonal system of the Sikasso area has been well described in Diarra (1976). The system operates more or less as in Segou, as described above.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne / n̂
i / e	ê

(Pronouns, continued:)

Regular	Emphatic
à	ale
an	ánẁ / ánnugù / ân
á / áw	áẁ / álugù / â
ù / àa / ò	òlû / òrû / òlúgù / àlúgù

b) Definite Article

The definite article is expressed tonally and operates according to the Segou system.

c) The Plural

u :	teeth	nyin-u
	snakes	sǎù

d) Possessive

ka :	his knife	a ka muru
	my knife	n ka muru

One also finds *ra* and more rarely *la*.

his knife	a ra muru
my knife	ŋ na muru

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

One finds most commonly *tun*, but not infrequently *kun*. More rarely, one finds *tin*, and *ti*.

He was farming	a tun bɛ sɛnɛ kɛ
He wasn't farming	a tun tɛ sɛnɛ kɛ

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

The most widespread forms are:

trans:	ka :	He drank the water	a ka ji min
	ma :	He didn't drink water	a ma ji min

One finds more rarely:

ye :	He drank water	a ye ji min
ma :	He didn't drink water	a ma ji min

intrans.:	-ra :	He went out	a bɔra
	ma :	He didn't go out	a ma bɔ

There are rare instances of -la, found primarily in the south.

He went out a bɔla

ii. Past Participial

-len :	He is tired	a sɛgɛlen bɛ
	He is dead	a salen bɛ

Often -len alternates with -nin. (The town of Sikasso has only -nin.)

iii. The Hypothetical Completive

This is expressed in our corpus by ni followed by the general completive:

Should he come out ... ni a bɔra ...

One case in our corpus used the auxiliary ka :

Should he come out ... ni a ka bɔ ...

There are also numerous instances of the general completive:

Should he come out
or
When he comes out } ni a bɔra ...

iv. The General Noncompletive

bɛ : He drinks water a bɛ ji min

tɛ : He doesn't drink water a tɛ ji min

In Sikasso town, the vowels are tense: be, te.

v. The Progressive

bɛ (NP) V-la : He is drinking water a bɛ ji minna

tɛ (NP) V-la : He isn't drinking water a tɛ ji minna

One also finds:

bɛ kan ka : He is going out a bɛ kan ka bɔ

tɛ kan ka : He isn't going out a tɛ kan ka bɔ

The short variant of this is also widespread:

bɛ ka : He's going out a bɛ ka bɔ

tɛ ka : He's not going out a tɛ ka bɔ

vi. Future

bɛ na / bi na : He will go out a bɛ na bɔ

tɛ na / ti na : He won't go out a tɛ na bɔ

There is another form, but we are not sure of its semantic value in relation to the above.

He will go out	a bɛ nana bɔ
He won't go out	a tɛ nana bɔ

vii. Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave!	kana bɔ!

Leave! (pl.) á ye bɔ!

Don't leave! á kana bɔ!

viii. *Hortative*

ka : May God save you! Ala k'i kisi!

ix. *Subjunctive*

ka : I want to leave n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ

x. *Infinitive*

ka : I want to leave n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. *Postpositions*

a) *Locative*

la, and its variant *ra* :

He is in the field a bɛ foro la

b) *Relational*

ye : He is a smith a ye numu ye

4. *Sentence Types*

a) *Identification*

NP do / *lo* / *don* : It's the smith numu do

NP tɛ : It's not the smith numu tɛ

b) *Predicate Nominals*

He's the smith a ye numu ye

He's not the smith a tɛ numu ye

c) *Predicate Adjectives*

ka : He's good a ka nyi

man : He's not good a man hyi

d) Existential

bɛ : It's cold nɛnɛ bɛ

tɛ : It's not cold nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

bɛ : He's in the field a bɛ foro la

tɛ : He's not in the field a tɛ foro la

B. Dyula.

Dyula is the name given to the extensions of the Mande peoples and the Mandekan language into the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta. The standard dialects of Upper Volta Dyula and Ivory Coast Dyula are very similar to Standard Bambara (more or less the Bamako dialect). There are, however, many Dyula dialects which vary widely from the standard. The Dyula expansions to the south and east began perhaps earlier than the 14th - 15th centuries. The oldest trading settlements, such as Kong, Benduku and Dabakala in the Ivory Coast have dialects which have developed separately from most of the Bambara and Maninka dialects. Unfortunately our sample is not sufficiently developed to include a survey of these particular dialects.

B.1. Standard Upper Volta Jula.

Standard Upper Volta Jula is the term we use here for the form of Jula established by the National Languages Commission under the authority of the Upper Volta Ministry of Education. This form of the language is used in literary materials and is represented in Lexique de Base Jula, Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Culture, Ouagadougou, 1979.

Upper Volta Jula is very similar to the Standard Jula of the Ivory Coast, and both are very similar to the Standard Bambara employed in Mali. There are local dialects of Jula which diverge considerably from the Standard, but much of the population is at least passively familiar with the Standard, that being the form used on the national radio.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants.

a) Labials

In those correspondences of /f/, /p/ and /h/, Standard Jula has /f/.

father	fa
look	filɛ / flɛ
age mate	flan
fault	finyɛn
two	fila
better	fisa
thin	fasa

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences of /d/ and /l/, Standard Jula has /l/.

lie down	la
root	lili
star	lolo
honey	li
day	lon
know	lɔn
stand	lɔ / jɔ

c) Palatalizations

In the correspondences of /c/, /k/ and /t/, one finds frequently /c/.

many	ca
gather	cɛ

middle	cɛ
break	ci
jealous	celi
man	cɛ
handsome	cɛnyi

d) Palatals

In the correspondences between /j/ and /y/, Standard Jula has the following:

tree	jiri / yiri
show	jira / yira
fry	jiran / yiran
here	yan
see	ye
there	yen

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the correspondences of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., Standard Jula has /g/ or /gw/.

kitchen	ga / gwa
hard	gɛlɛn / gwɛlɛn
chase	gɛn / gwɛn
heavy	girin / gwirin

ii. In the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, Standard Jula has /k/.

neck	kan
head	kun

iii. In the correspondences involving velar nasals, Standard Jula has the following:

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋɛnyɛ
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋɔni

f) Prenasals

i. s : z

watermelon	sara / zara
thief	son
fruit vine	zaban
rice dish	saamɛ / zaamɛ

ii. t

oil palm	teen
carp	tɛbɛn / rɛbɛn
Monday	tɛnɛn
bat	tonso
toad	tɔri
dove	tugan

iii. k : g

squirrel	kɛlɛ / kɛrɛnin
lie	galon
baboon	gɔɔn

2. Medial Consonants.

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars.

In those correspondences of /b/, /f/, /g/, etc., Standard Upper

Volta Jula has generally /g/.

meat	sogo
dream	sigo / siko
dove	tugan
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, Upper Volta Jula has /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
thigh	woro
short	surun
find	sɔrɔ

c) Liquids

In the correspondences of /l/ and /r/, Upper Volta Jula has the following.

rope	juru
canoe	kurun
fear	siran
mountain	kulu / kuru
indigo	gala

d) Velars

Generally we find intervocalic /g/.

salt	kɔgɔ
name	tɔgɔ

sit	sigi
go	taa
kill	faga

e) Palatals

Palatal nasals occur in medial position.

time	sinyɛ
wind	finyɛ / fɔnyɔn
truth	tinyɛ
ruin	tinyɛn

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Many nasal + consonant clusters have reduced to their corresponding nasals.

pass	tɛmɛ
wing	kaman / gaman
axe	jele / jende
health	kɛnɛ
hunger	kɔŋgɔ
force	faŋga

3. Vowels.

a) Vowel Reduction

There is general vowel reduction in this context, but no recorded instances of consonant change.

two	fla / fila
age mate	flan
beer	dɔlɔ / dlɔ / dɔrɔ

bed	dilan / dlan
hang	dlon
share	tila / tila
straighten	tlen
game	tloon
grease	tlɔ

b) Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is unaffected by context in Upper Volta Jula.

head	kun
neck	kan
child	den

c) Raising of /-a/

In the contexts where this process operates, one finds /-ɛ/.

eye	nyɛ
mouse	nyinyɛ
truth	tinyɛ

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process has not effected Upper Volta Jula.

child	den
one	kelen
arm	bolo
horse	so

4. Tone.

The tonal system seems to be very close to that described for Standard Bambara.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
à	ale
an	anw
á	aw
u	olu / olugu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is tonal as in Standard Bambara, but it also triggers a lengthening of the preceding vowel.

He didn't buy the cloth	à má fìníì sàn
He didn't buy cloth	à má fìní sàn

c) The Plural Marker

ù :	the women	mùsóù
	the children	dén-ù

d) The Possessive

ka :	his knife	a ka muru
	my knife	n ka muru

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tun : He was here a tun bɛ yen

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans. ye : He did this a ye nin kɛ

ma : He did not do this a ma nin kɛ

intrans. -ra : He left a bɔra

ma : He didn't leave a ma bɔ

ii. Past Participial

The past participle is formed by the suffix -len. It alone does not constitute a predication.

He is dead a salen lon

iii. General Noncompletive

bɛ / be / bi : He comes a bɛ na

tɛ / ti : He doesn't come a ti na

iv. Future

bɛna / bina : He will leave a bina bɔ

tɛna / tina : He will not leave a tina bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

la : He went to the field a taara foro la

b) Relational

ye : He became a smith a kɛra numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identity

NP lon / don : It's the smith numu lon

NP tɛ : It's not the smith numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

ye ... ye : He is a smith a ye numu ye

tɛ ... ye : He is not a smith a tɛ numu ye

c) Predicate Adjective

ka : It's good a ka di

man : It's not good a man di

B.2. Standard Ivory Coast Jula (IC Jula).

Standard Ivory Coast Jula (Commercial Jula as described by Gingiss (1974)) is the major African language of the Ivory Coast today. It is quickly becoming the predominant language of the city of Abidjan and of every other major urban center. Migrant workers from other ethnic groups coming into the Ivory Coast will generally have to learn some Standard Jula, since that is the language of labor as well as of most local retail trade.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences of /f/, /p/, and /h/, Ivory Coast Jula has /f/.

father	fa
look	flɛ
two	fla
thin	fasa

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences of /d/ and /l/ we find /l/.

lie down	la
star	lolo
day	lon
know	lɔn

c) Palatalizations

In the correspondences of /d/, /k/ and /t/, one finds the

following:

many	ca
break	ci
man	cɛ

d) Palatals

In the correspondences of /j/ and /y/ we find:

here	yan
there	yen
fish	jɛgɛ
fry	yiran
tree	yiri
water	ji

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the correspondences of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., we find primarily /gb/.

kitchen	gba
hard	gbɛlɛn
chase	gbɛ
simply	gbansan

ii. In the correspondences of /k/ and /x/, we find only /k/.

neck	kan
head	kun

iii. In the correspondences of /ŋ/, /ŋw/, etc., we find /ŋ/

hero	ŋana
crawl	ŋunuma

f) Prenasals

We found no such sequences in our corpus. The correspondences were generally the voiceless obstruent counterparts.

thief	son
rice dish	sagamɛ / zagamɛ
oil palm	ten
Monday	tɛnɛn
lie	kalon
squirrel	kɛrɛn

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, and Labiovelars

In the correspondences of /b/, /f/, /g/, etc., we found generally /g/.

meat	sobo
dream	sigo
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences of /t/, /d/, and /r/, we find primarily /r/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ
short	surun
get	sɔrɔ

c) Liquids

In the correspondences of /l/ and /r/, we find considerable variation.

road	sira
how much	jori / joli
patient	sabɛri / sabɛli
gown	dɛrɛkɛ
half	tara
hard	gbɛlɛ

d) Velars

In the correspondences of /k/, /g/, and Ø, we find generally /g/.

go	taga
salt	kɔgɔ
sit	sigi
kill	faga
person	mɔgɔ

e) Palatals

Palatal nasals do not reduce in medial position.

time	sinyɛ
truth	tinyɛ

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Alveolar and labial clusters have reduced to their simple nasal counterparts. Velar clusters are generally found as /ŋg/.

pass	timɛ
wing	kaman
axe	jele

health	kɛnɛ
hunger	kɔŋgɔ
force	faŋga
hole	diŋgɛ

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

There is considerable variation in this process. The tendency is clearly toward reduction but with no subsequent initial consonant change.

two	fila / fla
look	flɛ
beer	dɔlɔ / dlɔ
gown	dɛrɛkɛ / drɛkɛ
half	tla / tala / tara
game	tlon / tolon

b) Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is generally maintained.

one	kelen
child	den
head	kun
side	fan

c) Raising of /-a/

In those correspondences of /a/ and /ɛ/, we generally find /ɛ/.

eye	nyɛ
truth	tinyɛ

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process has not operated in Jula.

one	kelen
arm	bolo
house	so

4. Tone

The tonal system seems to operate in the same manner as Standard Bambara.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
ń	né
í	íle
à	àle
án	ánwlè
áw	áwlè
ù	òlû

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is tonal and operates as in Standard Bambara.

c) The Plural Marker

ù :	animals	sògó-ù
	children	dén-ù

d) The Possessive

	North	South
his pot	a ká daga	a tá daga

e) The Emphatic Particle

lo : It's the money he took   a ka wari lo ta

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tùn : He was here   à tùn bɛ́ yàn

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans. ka : Did you see the money?   i ka wari ye wa?

ma : He didn't see the money.   a ma wari ye

(There are also instances of ye and bara.)

intrans. -ra : He left   a bɔra

ma : He didn't leave   a ma bɔ

ii. Past Participial

-len : The child is lying down   den lalen bɛ

iii. General Noncompletive

be : He goes out   a be bɔ

te : He doesn't go out   a te bɔ

iv. Future

be na : He will go out   a be na bɔ

te na : He will not go out   a te na bɔ

v. Progressive

be ... -la : She is cooking rice   a be malo tobila

te ... -la : She is not cooking rice   a te malo tobila

vi. Imperative

Go!	taa!
Don't go!	kana taa!
Don't go (pl.)!	aw kana taa!

vii. Injunctive

ye : He said Musa should come   a ko Musa ye na

kana : He said Musa shouldn't come   a ko Musa kana na

viii. Infinitive

ka : He must go out   a ka kan ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

la : He is in the market   a be sugu la

b) Relational

ye : He is a smith   a ye numu ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

It's the smith	numu lo
It's not the smith	numu te

b) Predicate Nominals

He's a smith	a ye numu ye
He's not a smith	a te numu ye

c) Predicate Adjective

He is tall	a ka jan
He's not tall	a man jan

d) Existential

Is there peace?	hɛrɛ bɛ
There's no trouble	tɔɔrɔ tɛ

e) Locative

He is here	a be yan
He is not here	a te yan

C. Maninka - Mandinka.

This large zone divides roughly into two: Eastern Maninka, extending from southern Mali into eastern Guinea, and Western Mandinka, extending westward from Kita to the sea.

C.1. The Mande.

The Mande is the traditional center of the Mandekan world. It is bordered on the north and west by the Manding Mountains (foothills of the Fouta Diallon). It extends from the outskirts of Bamako in the north down the west bank of the Niger to the point where the Sankarani flows in. The eastern border of the Mande at that point becomes the Sankarani, along which the Mande descends down into Guinea. The southern limits of the Mande have varied greatly over time, but certainly extend some distance into Guinea, and, according to some of our informants, reaches the outskirts of Kouroussa.

The following features characterize the speech of the Mande area.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternation of /f/, /p/, /h/, the Mande has /f/.

donkey	fàli
father	fà
two	fìla

b) Alveolars

i. In the alternation of /d/ and /l/, the Mande has /l/.

root	lili

lie down	la
star	lolo
honey	li

ii. In the alternations of /d/, /l/ and /j/, one finds the following:

stand	lɔ
help	dɛmɛ
meet	dɛ

c) Palatalizations

The Mande has no palatalizations of /k/, /t/ or /s/.

man	kɛ̀
good looks	kɛ̀nyi
bite	kin
between	tɛ̀
truth	tònya
chicken	sìsɛ
swear	sinya
hair	si
eight	segin
many	sinyaman

d) Palatals

In the alternations of /j/ and /y/, one finds the following:

water	jí
fish	jɛ́gɛ
bottom	jù
show	yira

tree	yíri
here	yan
see	ye

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the alternation /gb/, /gw/, /g/, one finds generally /gw/.

kitchen	gwà
hard	gwèrɛn
heavy	gwírin

ii. In the alternation of /k/ and /x/, one finds only /k/.

man	kɛ
neck	kan
elder	kɔrɔ

iii. The velar nasal stop is generally labialized as /ŋw/.

hero	ŋwana
rash	ŋwanyan
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋwɔni

f) Prenasals

The nasal elements have been completely lost in the Mande, leaving initial voiceless obstruents.

thief	son
rabbit	san
spider	talen
Monday	tɛnɛn

toad	tɔri
lie	kalon
cricket	kɛrɛn
lute	kɔni

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

Where one finds alternations between /b/, /g/, /w/, /gb/, in the Mande, one finds generally /b/.

three	saba
meat	sobo
dream	sibo

b) Alveolars

Where Kita Maninka has /t/, the Mande will generally have /d/.

tie	sidi
elder	kɔdɔ

c) Liquids

In the alternations of /r/ and /l/ one finds generally /r/ for Bambara /l/ and /l/ for Bambara /r/, and a few instances of /y/.

five	loolu
rope	julu
canoe	kulun
road	siya
fear	siyan
run	bori
sew	kara
moon	karo

d) Velar Stops

There is only marginal lenition of medial velar stops. They alternate often between /k/ and /g/.

salt	kɔgɔ
name	tɔgɔ
go	taga
eight	sekin / segin

e) Medial Palatals

There is no reduction of medial palatal nasals.

swear	sinya
time	senya
wind	finya
truth	tonya
world	dunya

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

The labial and alveolar clusters have generally reduced to simple nasals. The velars however have not reduced.

elephant	sàma
lean	sɛmɛ
healthy	kɛ́nɛ
drum	dunun
force	fànga
hunger	kɔngɔ

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

This process has not operated in the Mande.

divide	tala
two	fìla
grab	mìna
alcohol	dɔ̀lɔ

b) Vowel Nasalization

Vowels remain nasalized in all contexts.

head	kùn
neck	kan
child	dén

c) Raising of Final /a/

This process is not operant in the Mande.

grab	mina
truth	tonya

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/.

This process does not operate east of Kita. It is probably the primary distinguishing characteristic between eastern and Western Maninka.

child	den
leg	sen
arrive	se
arm	bolo
horse	so

bone	kolo
woman	muso

4. Tone

Tone operates as described in the Criteria section. The definite article is tonal, but seems to have a restricted range, operating primarily in subject position.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

	Regular	Emphatic
I	ń	nê
you	í	ê
he/she	à	àlê
we	nèy	ánnèyi
you	áỳ	áyì
they	ày	wòy

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is expressed by a low tone combining with the lexical tone of the preceding element, but from our information, it seems to be neutralized in all but subject position.

c) Plural Marker

When preceded by a nasal, the plural marker is -nù.

children	dénnù
years	sánnù

When preceded by an oral vowel, the plural marker is generally -ì, but there are substantial instances of -lù.

women	mùsóì / mùsólù
bards	jàlíì / jàlílù

d) Possessive

The possessive marker is ya.

his knife	à yá mùrû
my money	ń yá wɔ́dî

e) Emphatic Particle

The emphatic particle is le.

It's the woman who left	mùsô lè bɔ́ra

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

Both tun and tɛdɛ are used to mark the past.

He was here	à tùn bɛ́ yàn
	à tɛ̀dɛ yàn

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans. na / nɔ :	He drank the water	a nɔ ji min
intrans. -da :	He went out	a bɔda

(negative: ma)

ii. Recent Completive

bada :	He has drunk the water	a bada ji min
	He has gone out	a bada bɔ

(negative: ma)

iii. Stative

intrans. V-len :	He is out	a bɔlen
neg. V-len tɛ :	He isn't out	a bɔlen tɛ

iv. Hypothetical

Uses ni with General Completive.

v. General Noncompletive

bɛ :	He drinks water	a bɛ ji min
tɛ :	He doesn't drink water	a tɛ ji min

vi. Future

na / bɛ :	He will drink the water	a na ji min
tɛ na / tɛ :	He won't drink the water	a tɛ na ji min

vii. Progressive

It is highly likely that a different form exists. Our research only obtained the general noncompletive.

bɛ :	He's drinking water	a bɛ ji min
tɛ :	He's not drinking water	a tɛ ji min

viii. Imperative

sing.: (NP) V	Leave!	bɔ!
	Drink the water!	ji min!
pl: Pro (NP) V	Leave!	ay bɔ!
	Drink the water!	ay ji min!

ix. Hortative

ka :	God help him!	Ala ka a dɛmɛ
kana :	May God not destroy it!	Ala kana a tinya

x. Subjunctive

ka :	I want him to leave	n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ
kana :	I want him not to leave	n b'a fɛ a kana bɔ

xi. Infinitive

ka :	I want to go	n b'a fɛ ka taga

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative: dɔ

b) Indirect Object: ma

Give it to him!	a di a ma!

c) Relational: di

It became that	a kɛda nin di

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

NP ye NP di :	It's the smith	numu y'a di
NP tɛ NP di :	It's not the smith	numu t'a di

b) Predicate Nominal

NP ye NP di :	He's a blacksmith	a ye numû di
NP tɛ NP di :	He's not a blacksmith	a tɛ numû di

c) Predicate Adjective

NP ka Adj / NP Adj-man :	It's short	a ka sudun a suduman
NP man Adj / NP Adj-man tɛ :	It's not short	a man sudun a suduman tɛ

d) Existential

ye : It's cold nεnε ye

tε : It's not cold nεnε tε

e) Locative

ye : He is here a yé yan

tε : He's not here a tέ yan

C.2. The Wasulu.

The Wasulu, like most traditional regions, has changed its boundaries many times over the centuries. It consists of three core areas: Jalonfulala (including Gueleninkoro), Basidibela (including Yanfolila) and the Gbanyaga (including Kalana). These three areas are referred to as the Solon of the Wasulu.

Depending on the particular historical era, extensions were added to the Wasulu. Towards the east, most people consider the Bolo, of which the principle town is Koloni, as part of the Wasulu. To the southeast, one finds the Gbanan, of which the principle towns are Yorobougoula and Madina. Some people consider the Baya to the north as part of the Wasulu. Others consider it part of the Mande. Both sides may be partially correct.

The Wasulu extends into Guinea on the west bank of the Sankarani. Its southernmost towns are Filamana in Mali, Faraba and Kodieran in Guinea (all of which are about 11 K. further to south than the limits of our map).

The eastern limits of the Wasulu are defined by the town of Lamining and the Baoule River running south. The Wasulu borders the Bambara regions around Bougouni, such as Kurulamini and Cεmala. The people of the Wasulu consider themselves Maninka, but with significant Fula ancestry, much of the population bearing the names Diallo, Diakite, Sibide, and Sangare.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternations of /f/, /p/, /h/, the Wasulu has /f/.

donkey	fali
father	fa
say	fɔ

b) Labialization

This process does not operate in the Wasulu.

wash	ko
back	kɔ
leave	bɔ
dung	bo

c) Alveolars

In the alternations of /d/ and /l/, the Wasulu generally has /l/.

root	lili
lie down	la
star	lolo
honey	li
strength	lolan
stand	lɔ

d) Palatals

In the alternation of /j/ and /y/, the Wasulu has the following:

show	yida
fry	yilan
tree	yiri
here	yan
see	ye

e) Palatalizations

i. With respect to the correspondences of /c/ to /k/ and /t/, the Wasulu has the following:

handsome	cɛnyi
man	cɛ (kɛ in Guinea)
sand	cɛn / cɛncɛn / ncɛncɛn (rare: kinyɛ)
bite	kin
heritage	cɛn (east) / kɛ / kɔ (west)
break	ci
between	cɛ
truth	tinya / can / knya

ii. With respect to the palatalizations of /s/ resulting from the modification of medial consonants, the Wasulu has the following:

	East	West
beans	sɔsɔ	sɔ
chicken	šyɛ	sɛ
swear	šyɛn	sɛ
scratch	šyɛn / šan	sa
time	šyan / senya	senya

iii. There are only rare instances of /š/ resulting from palatalization by a high front vowel. These are found mainly in centers like Yanfolila, affected by urban Bambara.

hair	si
seed	si
shea	se
corpse	su

iv. The word for 'many' is pronounced sya in the west, and can / ca in the east.

f) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In general, the eastern zone reduces labiovelars, the western zone retains them.

	East	West
kitchen	gwa / ga	gba
hard	gwɛlɛ / gɛlɛ	gbɛlɛn
bad	go / gwo	gbo
skin	golo	gbolo
heavy	gwili / girin	gbili

ii. In the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, the Wasulu has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kɛsi
back	kɔ

iii. In the correspondences of the velar nasals, the Wasulu has a labiovelar nasal /ŋm/, or more rarely /ŋw/.

hero	ŋmana / ŋwana
rash	ŋmanya
hive	ŋgban
crawl	ŋmunuma / ŋwunuma
thorn	ŋmɛni / ŋwɛni

g) Prenasals

The Wasulu has preserved the prenasals, and generally maintains the voiceless consonant.

i. ns

watermelon	nsɛrɛ / nzɛrɛ
baobab	sida
thief	nson
rust	son
rabbit	nsannin / nsonsannin

ii. nk

squirrel	nkɛrɛnnin
cricket	nkɛrɛn
lute	nkɔni
bitter tomato	nkɔyɔ
dew	nkɔmi
baboon	ngɔn (east) / ngbɔn (west)

iii. nt

Monday	ntɛnɛn
toad	ntɔdi
grasshopper	ntɔn
oil palm	nten / ntin

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In those correspondences of /g/, /b/, /w/, etc., the Wasulu has the following:

benediction	duwabu / dubabu
meat	sobo
dream	sibo (also: sobi)
dove	ntubanin
vulture	duga

b) Alveolar Stops

In those correspondences of /t/, /d/ and /r/ the western area has /d/, the eastern area has /r/.

	East	West
tie	siri	sidi
elder	kɔrɔ	kɔdɔ
short	surun	sudun

c) Liquids

In the correspondences of /r/ and /l/, the Wasulu shows a clear Maninka distribution.

five	loolu
rope	julu
heavy	gbilin
canoe	kulun
fear	silan
run	bori
sew	kara

moon	karo
indigo	kara / gara

d) Velar Stop Lenition

In the Wasulu, there is little or no lenition of medial velar stops, except for freely varying /k/ ~ /g/.

salt	kɔkɔ / kɔgɔ
name	tɔkɔ / tɔgɔ
small	dɔgɔ
sleep	sinɔgɔ
sit	siki / sigi
fish	jɛgɛ / nyɛkɛ
eight	sekin / segin
kill	faga / faka

e) The Reduction of /ny/

The reduction of /ny/ is sporadic in the Wasulu.

heritage	cɛ / kɛ
truth	tinya / knya
scratch	šyɛn / sa
time	senya

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Labial nasal clusters have reduced to /m/, alveolars to /n/. Velar clusters and /ns/ remain unaffected.

elephant	sama
dew	nkɔmi
healthy	kɛnɛ

strength	fənka
hole	dinka
hunter	donso
rabbit	nsonsan

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

Vowels do not reduce in the Wasulu, with the exception of series with /fVl/.

divide	rɔtala
sun	tele
ear	tolo
game	tolon
flute	file / fle
entry hut	bolon
leave	bila
beer	dɔlɔ
hang	dun / dlon
gown	dereke / jereke
lake	dala

b) Nasalization

The Wasulu generally maintains nasalized vowels.

neck	kan
thief	nson
child	den
one	kelen

c) Raising of Final /-a/

/a/ in this context is generally maintained.

eye	nya
mouse	nyina
rainy season	samiya / sama

4. Tone

Tone operates in the same manner as the Bamako system described above.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
a	ale
an	anney / annu
áỳ	áỳ / álu
ày	oyi / woyi

b) The Definite Article

The definite article operates tonally as in the Bamako system.

c) The Plural

-ỳ :	teeth	nyínỳ
	women	mùsóỳ

d) Possessives

la :	his knife	a la muru
	my money	n na wari

e) Emphatic

le :	The WOMAN left	muso le bɔda

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tɛrɛ :	He was farming	a tɛrɛ sɛnɛ la
	He wasn't farming	a tɛrɛ tɛ sɛnɛ la

The marker tun is also found in urban areas.

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

trans.	na / nɔ :	He drank water	a na ji min
	ma :	He didn't drink water	a ma ji min
intrans.	-ra :	He went out	a bɔra
	ma :	He didn't go out	a ma bɔ

ii. The Recent Past

bara :	He has drunk water	a bara ji min
	He has gone out	a bara bɔ
ma :	He hasn't gone out	a ma bɔ

iii. The Stative Completive

V-len :	He is out	a bɔlen
V-len tɛ :	He isn't out	a bɔlen tɛ

(More generally: He didn't go out a ma bɔ)

iv. Hypothetical

east: mana : Were he to leave ... a mana bɔ ...

west: ka : " n'a ka bɔ ...

v. General Noncompletive

bɛ : He drinks water a bɛ ji min

tɛ : He doesn't drink water a tɛ ji min

vi. Progressive

There are two current forms:

ye (NP) V-la : I'm drinking a ye ji minna

tɛ (NP) V-la : I'm not drinking a tɛ ji minna

and more rarely:

ye ka : n ye ka bɔ

tɛ ka : n tɛ ka bɔ

When preceded by the pronoun à, the auxiliary ye assimilates to the pronoun resulting in a long vowel.

He is drinking water a: ji minna

vii. Future

bɛ / bɛna / na : He will leave a na bɔ

tɛna : He won't leave a tɛna bɔ

viii. Imperative

plural: á ye (NP) V: Leave! á ye bɔ!

kana : Don't leave! á kana bɔ!

ix. Hortative

0 : May God give you strength Ala barika don i rɔ

In our opinion, this is another use of auxiliary assimilation which may trigger vowel lengthening.

One also finds:

ma : May God save you! Ala ma i tangara

x. Subjunctive

west: ye : I want him to leave n y'a fɛ a: bɔ

kana :

east: kɛ : I want him to leave n b'a fɛ a kɛ bɔ

kana :

xi. Infinitive

ka : I want to leave n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

The locative postposition is la in the east, and rɔ/dɔ in the west.

Madu is in the field Madu: foro dɔ

b) Relational

ri / di : He is a smith a numu di

c) Benefactive: ye

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

X Ø a ri / di : It's the smith numu a ri

X tɛ a ri / di : It's not the smith numu t'a ri

With first and second person pronouns, the auxiliary is ye.

b) Predicate Nominal

(Same as above)

X ∅ Y ri / di :	Madu is a smith	Madu numu di
X tɛ Y ri / di :	Madu isn't a smith	Madu tɛ numu di

c) Predicate Adjectives

Two patterns are in wide use:

i. ka :	It's good	a ka di
man :	It's not good	a man di
ii. Adj-man :	It's short	a surunman
Adj-man tɛ :	It's not short	a surunman tɛ

d) Existential

ye :	It's cold	nɛnɛ ye
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

∅ :	He's in the field	a: foro rɔ
tɛ :	He's not in the field	a tɛ foro rɔ

C.3. Birgo.

The Birgo is the traditional region extending southward from Kita down to the Guinée border. Its oldest village is said to be Kolomini. Its capital is Sirakoro.

The northern limits of the Birgo are defined by the villages of Goumanko, just south of Kita and Gontan. The southernmost village of the Kita region is Bankono. The northernmost village of the Birgo is Magana.

The Birgo is bordered in the east by the Mande, the last village of which is Nyagasola. The westernmost village of the Birgo is Kokurunin.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the alternations of /f/, /p/ and /h/, the Birgo has generally /f/.

fault	fɛ
father	fa
two	fila
thin	fasa
wind	fonyo
cloth	fani / fanu
say	fɔ

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /d/ and /l/, the Birgo generally has /l/.

root	lili
lie down	la
star	lolo
honey	li
stand	lɔ

c) Palatals

In the correspondences between /j/ and /y/, the Birgo has predominantly /y/.

show	yira
tree	yiri
fry	yilan
here	yan
see	ye

d) Palatalizations

In this area, one finds few palatalizations.

man	kɛ
good looks	kɛnyi
bite	kin
between	tɛ
sand	kinyɛ / kɛnyɛ
bean	sɔsɔ
chicken	sisɛ / šɛ
hair	si
shea	se
scratch	sa
many	caman

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the correspondences between /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., this area has generally /g/.

kitchen	ga
hard	gɛlɛn
heavy	gilin
bad	goman
skin	golo

ii. In the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, the Birgo has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
stream	kɔ
back	kɔ
bird	kɔnɔ
new	kuda

iii. In the variation between /ŋ/, /ŋw/, etc., the Birgo has /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋanya
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋoni

f) The Prenasals

The Birgo has largely preserved the prenasals.

i. ns

watermelon	nsɛrɛ

thief	nson
rust	son

ii. nt

spider	ntalen
Monday	ntɛnɛn
toad	ntori
grasshopper	ntɔn

iii. nk

cricket	nkɛɛrɛn
lute	ngɔni / nkɔni
dew	nkomi
baboon	ngɔn

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials

In those correspondences between /b/, /g/, /f/, etc., the Birgo has generally /b/.

meat	sobo
dream	sibo
dove	ntuba
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

In the variation between /t/, /d/ and /r/, the Birgo has /r/ and /d/.

tie	siri
elder	kɔrɔ

thigh	wodo / woro
leaf	fura
short	surun / sudun
get	sɔrɔ

c) Liquids

In the alternations between /r/ and /l/, the Birgo has the following:

five	duuru
rope	julu
canoe	kulu
road	sira / sila
fear	silan
run	bori
sew	kara
moon	karo
indigo	gara

d) Velars

Velar obstruents are found in intervocalic position.

salt	kɔkɔ / kɔgɔ
name	tɔkɔ / tɔgɔ
go	taga
eight	sekin / segin
kill	faga / faka

e) Palatals

Palatal nasals are found in intervocalic position.

wind	fɔnyɔ
liver	binyɛ

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Only /ns/ and /ng/ are found.

pass	tɛmɛn
wing	kaman
healthy	kɛnɛ
drum	dunun
force	faŋga
hunger	kɔngɔ
hunter	donso

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

Vowels do not reduce in this area.

divide	tala
two	fila / fula
beer	dɔlɔ

b) Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is largely unaffected by context.

head	kun
neck	kan
child	den

c) The Raising of /-a/

This process only operates sporadically in this area.

eye	nya
mouse	nyina
grab	minɛ
truth	tonya
liver	binyɛ

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate systematically in the Birgo.

child	den
leg	sen
arrive	se
arm	bolo
horse	so
woman	moso
hunter	donso

4. Tone

From the little information we have, tone seems to operate according to the Bamako system.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	e
a	ale
an	annu

ilu	álu
àlu	olu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article appears to be tonal, and operates according to the Bamako system.

c) The Plural Marker

The plural marker is primarily /-ù/ with some instances of /-lù/.

the women	mosow
the Children	denw

d) Possessive

The possessive marker is la with scattered instances of ka.

his horse	a la so
my horse	n na so

e) The Emphatic Particle

The emphatic particle is generally le.

The WOMAN came	moso le nara

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

The past marker is tun.

He was here	a tun bɛ yan

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

transitive: There are two completive aspect markers, but our corpus does not distinguish them semantically.

di : He drank water a di ji min

ye : " a ye ji min

Both are negated by ma.

He didn't drink water a ma ji min

intransitive:

-ra / -da : He went out a bɔra

ma : He didn't go out a ma bɔ

ii. Hypothetical Completive

This is expressed in our corpus by ni followed by the general completive.

If he goes out ... ni a bɔra ...

iii. General Noncompletive

bɛ : He goes out a bɛ bɔ

tɛ : He doesn't go out a tɛ bɔ

iv. Future

bɛna : He will go out a bɛna bɔ

tɛna : He won't go out a tɛna bɔ

v. Imperative

Sing.: (NP) V : Leave! bɔ!

kana (NP) V : Don't leave! kana bɔ!

Plu.: alu (NP) V : Leave! alu bɔ!

alu kana (NP) V : Don't leave! alu kana bɔ!

vi. Subjunctive

ka : I want him to leave n b'a fɛ a ka bɔ

vii. Infinitive

ka :	I want to leave	n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

dɔ :	He went to the field	a tagara foro dɔ

b) Relational

One finds both di and ye.

He became a smith	a kɛra numu di

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

NP le :	It's the woman	moso le
NP tɛ :	It's not the woman	moso tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

ye ... di / ye ... ye :	He is the smith	a ye numu di
tɛ ... di / tɛ ... ye :	He is not the smith	a tɛ numu di

c) Predicate Adjective

ka :	It's good	a ka di
ma :	It's not good	a ma di

d) Existential

ye :	It's cold	nɛnɛ ye
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

bɛ :	He's in the field	a bɛ foro dɔ
tɛ :	He's not in the field	a tɛ foro dɔ

C.4. Kankan.

The situation of Mandekan in eastern Guinea is extremely complicated. Our general ignorance of the area adds greatly to our difficulty. Our primary source materials are Spears (1965, 1973) and our own field notes collected from Guineans living and working in Mali.

Like the other areas we have studied, the traditional regions of eastern Guinea have fluctuated greatly following their economic and political fortunes. For several centuries now, the major center of political and economic life of eastern Guinea has been the town of Kankan. Like Bamako, however, Kankan is not the center of a particular traditional region, but rather at the crossroads of several of them. The dialect of Kankan has nonetheless, again like Bamako, become the standard dialect for trade in much of western Guinea.

Kankan is surrounded by the following traditional areas:

1. to the west of Kankan, extending from the Milo River westward to Farannah is the extensive region referred to as Sankaran;
2. to the northwest, lying between the Niger and Milo Rivers is the region referred to as Batè;
3. to the northeast, in between the Milo and the Sankarani Rivers, lies Sakodugu and Kulubalidugu further to the north;
4. southeast of Kankan lies the region called Toron which extends as far as the Sankarani, where it meets Bamanandugu. The latter region represents the southernmost extensions of the Bambara dialects, emanating from the Bougouni region.

While there is substantial dialect variation across these regions, the Kankan dialect is regarded as the major dialect for the administration of the area and for its economic activity.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences between /f/ and /h/, this area has /f/.

father	fa
two	fila
cloth	fani
power	fanka
say	fɔ

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences between /d/ and /l/, this area has /l/.

honey	li
star	lolo
five	loolu
firewood	lɔ
stand	lɔ
root	lulu (Faranah: lilɛ)

c) Palatals

In the correspondences of /j/ and /y/, one finds the following:

show	jira (Faranah: yira)
tree	jiri
self	jɛrɛ / yɛrɛ
here	yan
see	ye

onion	yaba
evil	yu
pocket	yufa
dry	yaran

d) Palatalizations

There are no palatalizations of /s/, /t/, or /k/ in this dialect.

man	kɛ
sand	kinyɛ (Faranah: kiyɛn)
bite	kin
break	te
spoil	tinyɛ
chicken	sisɛ
hair	si
many	siya

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. All dialects in western Guinea seem to have retained the voiced labiovelar stop.

kitchen	gba / gbakan
hard	gbɛlɛn
heavy	gbili
leather	gbolo
bad	gbo

ii. In the correspondences of /k/ and /x/, this dialect has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
stream	kɔ
bird	kɔnɔ
new	kura

iii. Our Kankan corpus shows no instances of /ŋ/, but we have reason to believe /ŋ/ exists there given the Faranah examples:

	Faranah
hero	ŋana
rash	ŋwɔnyɔ
hive	kɔnkɔn
crawl	ŋuma
thorn	ŋonin

f) Prenasals

All the prenasals in the Kankan dialect have been lost, leaving the unmodified stop or fricative in initial position.

thief	son (Faranah: nzon)
story	tɛli (Faranah: talen)
oil palm	tin
toad	todi
grasshopper	tɔn (Faranah: nton)
dew	kumbi (Faranah: kɔmin)
baboon	gbɔn

2. Intervocalic Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In the set of correspondences of /g/, /b/, /f/ we find the

following:

meat	sobo
dream	siko (Faranah: sibo)

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, we find primarily /d/ and /r/.

tie	sidi
elder	kɔrɔ
short	sudun
near	kɔtɔ
baobab	sida
catch	mira
break	kari

c) Liquids

In the correspondences between /r/ and /l/ these dialects have the general Maninka-Mandinka pattern.

five	loolu
rope	julu
canoe	kulun
road	sila
fear	silan
run	bori
sew	kara
moon	karo
indigo	kara

In many of the Guinean dialects, there is a common process by which intervocalic liquids correspond to /y/.

Faranah

rot	toyi
break	kayi

d) Velars

Intervocalic velar obstruents are generally lost, except when preceded by a nasal.

go	ta
pot	da
clay	bɔ
kill	fua / fwa
hide	don
land	du
eight	sen / seyin

e) Palatals

The medial palatal nasal has generally maintained its form.

arrow	bìnyɛ	
liver	bínyɛ	
sand	kinyɛ	
time	sinyɛ	(Faranah: senya)
spoil	tinyɛ	
truth		(Faranah: tɔnya)

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

In general, these clusters have been retained.

pass	tambi

wing	kamba
chin	bombo
crocodile	bamba
drum	dundun
healthy	kɛndɛ
power	fanka
price	sɔnkɔ
hunter	donso

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

Vowels do not reduce in this dialect.

divide	tala
two	fila

b) Nasalization

For the most part, nasalization is retained.

head	kun
neck	kan
child	den

c) The Raising of /-a/

This process seems to have applied sporadically in the Kankan dialect.

eye	nya
mouse	nyina
liver	binyɛ
time	sinyɛ

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process has not applied with any generality in the Kankan dialect.

child	den
leg	sen
arrive	se
one	kelen
arm	bolo
horse	so
bone	kolo
woman	muso

4. Tone

The tonal system is described in considerable detail in Spears (1973) and in a number of his earlier publications. The system is very similar to the Bamako dialect except that high tones do not rise in pitch after low tones, but rather are manifested on the same pitch level. High tones only rise in pitch when there is a following low tone.

Its not good	à mán dí	[- - -]
but		
Its not good today	à mán dí bì	[- - ¯ -]

This rule is very similar to the readjustment of tone in Bambara dialects after the assignment of accent.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular		Emphatic
Kankan	Faranah	
n	n	ńné
i	i	ile
a	a	àlé
áǹ		áǹne
álu	mɔ	álúlé
àlu	i	àlùlé

b) The Definite Article

The definite article operates as in the Bamako dialect.

c) The Plural Marker

-lù :	knives	mùrúlù
	canoes	kúlúnnù

d) The Possessive

la (na after nasals) :

his knife	a la muru
my knife	n na muru
his arm	a bolo
my head	n kun

e) The Emphatic Marker

le :	The MILK is good	nɔnɔ le ka nyin

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tɛrɛ :	He was coming	a tɛrɛ ye nala
	The letter was there	sɛbɛ tɛrɛ ye yen

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

trans. ka :	He cut the tree	a ka jiri tɛ
ma :	He didn't cut the tree	a ma jiri tɛ
intrans. -ra :	He came	a nara
ma :	He didn't come	a ma na

Spears claims that ka can be used with the agentless passive forms, e.g.:

He was killed	a ka fua
He died	a fuara

In some cases, ka can be used with intransitives, giving a recent past reading, e.g.:

He has come	a ka na
He came	a nara

ii. The Recent Past

bara (shortens to ba); ma

He has eaten the rice	a bara malo damun
He has come	a bara na

This form is used in when-chauses, e.g.

When you look at the photo ...	i ba foto dagba ...

iii. Stative Completive: -nɛn (ye)

It happens that they are happy	a kɛnɛn komi alu y'i diya
Bamboo happens to surround the house	bɔ kɛnɛn ka bon namini
He entered the country	a donnɛn jamana dɔ
The road is wet	sila sumannɛn ye
They are lost	alu filinɛn ye

iv. General Noncompletive

In the Kankan dialect, the general noncompletive and the progressive are apparently indistinct.

ye ... -la :	He is coming	a ye nala
	He is washing clothes	a ye fanin kola
tɛ ... -la :	He isn't coming	a tɛ nala
	He isn't washing clothes	a tɛ fanin kola

v. Future

di :	He will come	a di na
	He will build a house	a di bon lɔ
tɛ :	He won't come	a tɛ na
	He won't build a house	a tɛ bon lɔ

vi. Imperative

∅ :	Buy some wood!	i jiri san!
	You (pl.) buy some wood!	alu jiri san!
kana :	Don't buy any wood!	i kana jiri san!

vii. Subjunctive

ka :	He wants me to go	a y'a fɛ n ka ta

viii. Infinitive

ka :	She must wash the the rice	a ka kan ka malo ko
	He wants to go	a y'a fɛ ka ta

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

Both rɔ and la are used.

It is in my hand	a ye n bolo rɔ
He is in the field	a ye foro rɔ
He is in the house	a ye bon na
He is in the tree	a ye jiri la

b) Relational

di :	He is a smith	a ye numu le di

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

le :	It's the smith	numu le
tɛ :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

ye ... di :	He's a smith	a ye numu di
tɛ ... di :	He's not a smith	a tɛ numu di

c) Existential

ye :	There is peace	hɛra ye
tɛ :	There is no trouble	tɔɔrɔ tɛ

d) Locative

ye :	He is in the field	a ye foro rɔ
tɛ :	He is not in the field	a tɛ foro rɔ

C.5. Kuranko.

The Kuranko region is an extensive area to the south of Sankaran. The eastern limits of the Kuranko area are found around the Milo River. The western limits are in the Loma Mountains of Sierra Leone. From Kissidougou to the south, the Kuranko appear to blend into the Manya, the Mau and the Konya, while maintaining fairly discrete linguistic boundaries with the Kissi, the Kpelle and the Loma.

Most of the following data comes from interviews conducted with Kuranko speakers living in southern Mali. Some of the examples are drawn from Michael Jackson's excellent ethnography, The Kuranko (C. Hurst and Co., London, 1977).

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences between /f/ and /h/, this area has /f/.

father	fa
two	fila
cloth	fanin
blow	fɛ

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences between /d/ and /l/, this area has /l/.

star	lol-e
honey	li-e
stranger	lolan / londan

c) Palatals

In the correspondences between /j/ and /y/, one finds primarily /y/.

show	yira
fry	yilan
fish	jɛɛ
tree	yir-e
here	yan
see	ye
there	yen

d) Palatalization

There are no palatalizations of /s/, but one finds numerous instances of /c/.

many	siya
handsome	cɛn
man	cɛ
sand	kinyɛ
bite	cin
heritage	kɛ
manner	kɛnya
middle	cɛma
truth	tinya

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. The Kuranko dialects have retained the labiovelar stop /gb/.

kitchen	gba

hard	gbɛlɛ
bad	gbo
skin	gbolo
heavy	gbili

ii. In the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, this dialect has /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
new	kura
back	kɔ

iii. In the correspondences featuring velar nasals, this dialect has the following:

hero	ŋgana
hive	gbondo
crawl	ŋwunuma / munuma
thorn	ŋwanin

f) Prenasals

The loss of prenasals is sporadic in Kuranko.

i. nt

spider	ntalenba
Monday	tɛnɛn
frog	tɔr-ɛ
grasshopper	nton
oil palm	tiny-ɛ

ii. nk

squirrel	kɛrɛnin

guitar	nkonin
dew	kumbɛ
baboon	gbɔn

iii. ns

watermelon	sara
thief	son
rust	son

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

benediction	dubab-ɛ
meat	sobo / sob-ɛ
dream	sibo
vulture	duwa

b) Alveolar Stops

In those alternations between /t/, /d/ and /r/, one generally finds the following:

tie	sidi
elder	kɔrɔ
short	surun
thigh	wod-ɛ

c) Liquids

In those alternations between /r/ and /l/, one generally finds the following:

five	lul-ɛ
rope	jul-ɛ

heavy	gbili
canoe	kulun
fear	silan / siyan
run	bori
sew	kara
moon	karo
indigo	kar-ɛ

d) Velar Stops

Intervocalic velar stops are generally lost. Diphthongs often result from the addition of the definite article.

salt	kɔ / kw-ɛ
name	tɔ / tw-ɛ
young	dɔ
sleep	sunɔ / sun-ɛ
sit	si
fish	jɛ
eight	seyin / sein
twenty	muwan / mwan

e) Palatals

The medial palatal is generally maintained:

truth	tinya
time	senya
manner	kènya

Palatal nasals seem also to arise morphophonemically with the addition of the definite article -ɛ to a nasalized vowel, e.g.:

oil palm	tin
the oil palm	tiny-ɛ
head	kun
the head	kuny-ɛ

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

The reduction of nasal clusters is irregular.

pass	timin
dew	kumb-ɛ
elephant	semba
hunter	dons-ɛ
axe	jel-ɛ
stranger	londan

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

Vowels do not reduce under the same conditions as in the Bambara dialects:

divide	tila
two	fila
flute	fil-ɛ
place	bila
beer	dɔlɔ
gown	yiriki

b) Nasalization

For the most part, nasalization is retained.

head	kun

neck	kan
child	den
eight	seyin

c) Raising of /-a/

This process seems to have operated sporadically, although our data do not permit us to adequately sort out cases with the definite article.

rainy season	samaji-ɛ
mouse	nyin-ɛ (?)
truth	tinya
time	senya

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

The general process has not operated in Kuranko. The definite article seems to have caused the raising of some instances of final /-o/, e.g.:

horse	so
the horse	suɛ / swɛ
name	tɔ
the name	tuɛ / twɛ
need	mako
the need	makuɛ / makwɛ

4. Tone

Our data on the tonal system are insufficient.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	nne
i	ile
a	ale
ma	ma
wo	wo
an	an

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is represented by the suffix -ε.

When added to a monosyllable with a front vowel, it usually results in a vowel sequence or diphthong.

water	ji
the water	jiε
honey	li
the honey	liε

When added to a monosyllabic word containing a back vowel, a high diphthong or glide usually results:

horse	so
the horse	suε / swε
name	tɔ
the name	tuε / twε

When added to a nasalized vowel, whether in a monosyllabic or polysyllabic word, the definite article is strongly nasalized, e.g.:

tooth	nyin	
the tooth	nyiɛn	[nyĩɛ̃]
breast	sin	
the breast	siɛn	[sĩɛ̃]

When added to non-nasalized polysyllabic words, the general rule is that -ɛ will replace the final vowel.

gown	yiriki
the gown	yirikɛ
sleep	sunɔ
the sleep	sunɛ
indigo	kara
the indigo	karɛ

If the first vowel of the stem in a bisyllabic word happens to be /-o/, that is, a back tense vowel, the definite article will cause it to raise to /u/, e.g.:

fonio	foni
the fonio	funɛ
meat	sobo
the meat	subɛ

c) The Plural Marker

-lu (-nu after nasals):

cow	misi
cows	misilu (also: misinu)
the woman	musɛ
the women	musɛnu

snake	sa
snakes	salu
the tooth	nyiɛn
the teeth	nyiɛnnu

d) The Plural Marker

la (na after nasals):

his knife	a la murɛ
my knife	n na murɛ

e) The Emphatic Marker

le : He isn't drinking the water a tɛ jiɛ le minna

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tin : He wasn't farming a tin sa sɛnɛ kɛla

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

ra :	He drank the water	a ra jiɛ min
	He left	a ra bɔ
	He is tired	a ra sɛ
	He has gone to the field	a ra ta sɛnɛ rɔ
ma :	He didn't drink the water	a ma jiɛ min
	He didn't leave	a ma bɔ

The suffix -ra also occurs, but our data are insufficient to determine whether the ra preceding the verb is equivalent to the recent past bara as in the Kankan dialect.

If he has left ...	n'a bɔra ...
If it has rotted ...	n'a tulura ...

ii. The General Noncompletive

ye ... -la :	He is farming	a ye sɛnɛ kɛla
sa ... -la :	He isn't farming	a sa sɛnɛ kɛla

One also finds the suffix -tɔ:

He is leaving tomorrow	a bɔtɔ le sini

The negative tɛ is also in wide use:

He doesn't drink water	a tɛ jiɛ minna

iii. The Future

The future is expressed in our data with the general non-completive aspects.

iv. Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Drink the water!	jiɛ min!
You (pl.) should leave!	wo ka bɔ!

One also finds imperatives with la:

You (pl.) leave!	wo la bɔ!

v. Subjunctive

ka :	I want him to leave	n y'a fɛ a ka bɔ
	I don't want him to leave	n t'a fɛ a ka bɔ

vi. Infinitive

ka :	I want to drink the water	n y'a fɛ ka jiɛ min

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

Both rɔ and la are used.

He went to the field	a ra ta sɛnɛ rɔ
He went to the office	a ra ta kubɛ la

b) Relational

di :	Madu is a blacksmith	Madu numu le di

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

le :	It's the blacksmith	numukɛ le
sa :	It's not the blacksmith	numukɛ sa

b) Predicate Nominal

Ø ... di :	Madu is a blacksmith	Madu numu le di
sa ... di :	Madu is not a blacksmith	Madu sa numu le di

C.6. Worodugu / Koyaga.

Worodugu (literally: "Kola country") is a traditional region now spread across the boundaries of Guinea and the Ivory Coast. On the Guinean side the Worodugu region begins roughly in the area of Sinko, bounded on the west by the region called Konyadugu and in the north by Fuladugu and Bamanadugu. In the Ivory Coast, Worodugu extends as far as Seguela and Mankono, and it includes the area of Touba and Odienne. Gingiss (1973) uses the term Worodugukan to refer specifically to the dialect of Sequela, grouping the other dialects of the area (Mau, spoken in Touba; Koyaga, spoken in Mankono) into a dialect cluster for which the local term is Koyaga. All of these dialects, as Gingiss points out share rather striking innovations with respect to the rest of Mandekan. The data which follows is drawn almost entirely from Gingiss' work. There are rather minor differences in analysis, however.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences between /f/ and /h/, Worodugukan has primarily /f/.

two	fa
leaf	fea
throw	fii
say	fɔ

There is another development in Worodugukan where some instances of Mandekan /f/ correspond to a voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/.

	Worodugukan	Bambara
greet	ɸo	fo
heat	ɸɔnɛ	funtɛni

Most instances of /ɸ/ in Worodugukan correspond to Mandekan /k/.

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences between /d/ and /l/, this dialect has /l/.

sleep	la
honey	li
star	lolo
know	lon
market	lɔgɔ

c) Palatals

In the correspondences between /d/, /j/ and /y/, Worodugukan has primarily /j/, with a few instances of /y/.

	Worodugukan	Bambara
heart	jusoo	dusu
hole	jiɛ̃o	dingɛ / dinga
help	jɛmɛ	dɛmɛ
see	je	ye
tree	jii	jiri / yiri
laugh	jiɛ	yɛlɛ
go up	jɛ	yɛlɛn
here	yan	yan
change	yɛman	yɛlɛma

d) Palatalizations

The process(es) of palatalization differ considerably from the other Mandekan dialects. It appears that /s/ palatalizes before both front and back vowels which have themselves been lengthened by intervocalic liquid deletion.

	Worodugukan	Bambara
street	šeao	sira
fear	šean	siran
copper	šoao	sula

We also find šo 'horse', but so 'house'.

Similar to palatalizations in the Beledugu, we find some correspondences between /š/ and /fy/.

	Worodugukan	Bambara
sell	šile / fyile	fyeere
calabash	šɛ / fyɛ	fɛɛ / fyɛ

Other than the above, /s/ does not palatalize.

none	si
race	siio
time	sinyao
chicken	sisɛo
bean	sɔsɔo

There are a number of instances where /c/ corresponds to either /t/ or /k/.

break	cɛ
man	cɛ
middle	cɛ
inheritance	cɛn
palm tree	cin

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. All of the Koyaga dialects have /gb/.

kitchen	gba
gumbo	gban
strike	gbɛsi
skin	gbö
ape	gbɔn

ii. In the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, these dialects have /k/.

head	kun-o
neck	kan-o
cry	kasi
sew	kea

iii. Gingiss treats the few instances of initial /ŋ/ as resulting from the sequence /nw/.

thorn	ŋwɛ-o
rice fritter	ŋwami-o

In Worodugukan, as in many other dialects, intervocalic /ŋ/ corresponds to /nk/ or /ng/ in other Mandekan dialects.

elbow	nɔŋɔ
strength	faŋa

iv. Many Mandekan voiceless velar stops /k/ correspond to Worodugukan /ϕ/.

wash	ϕo
back	ϕɔ
yam	ϕu

f) Prenasals

There is no evidence of prenasalization in the Koyaga dialects

thief	so-o
rust	sön-o
smallpox	šo-o
spider	talen-o
frog	toli-o
guitar	kɔnin-o

2. Intervocalic Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In this set of correspondences, we find the following:

meat	sogo-o
dream	sibo
blessing	?

Intervocalic labial stops /b/ are often reduced to /β/.

hoe	[daβa]

This is part of a more general process of lenition wherein voiced stops are produced as their corresponding fricatives.

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, we find primarily zero, resulting from intervocalic liquid deletion.

elder	kɔ̈
near	kɔ̈

There are nonetheless a few instances of intervocalic /t/, e.g.:

judgement	kiti-o

Gingiss (1973, 18) points out that /r/ only occurs directly following an initial consonant, a distribution resulting from vowel deletion. In every case, /r/ has an alternate pronunciation where it assimilates more to the following vowel:

throw	fri / fii
fear	fra / fea
rat	bra / bea

c) Liquids

As stated above, /r/ is almost entirely lost in Worodugukan. Many instances of /l/ have also been lost, but the distributions are highly irregular. Many instances of /l/ are found immediately following initial consonants. This distribution results from vowel deletion.

gown	dele
witness	sɛlɛ
moon	kalo
medicine	fla / fea
in law	bla
koran	klwana (Bambara: kurana)
indigo	gea
sew	kea
read	kean
one	kien
bone	kwo-o

The loss of medial liquids results in rather dramatic vowel changes. These will be discussed in the section on vowels.

d) Velars

Intervocalic velar obstruents are often fricativized (as are their labial counterparts), but they are rarely deleted.

go	taga	[taɣa]
pot	daga	
kill	faga	
land	dugu	

e) Palatals

The medial palatals are generally retained.

liver	byɛn-o
whip	gbɛnyɛ
adjust	kenya
time	sinya

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

The reduction of nasal clusters is sporadic and irregular.

betray	jamfa
shea butter	tamba
elephant	sama
guitar	kɔnin-o
Mande	manden-o
healthy	kɛnɛ
hunter	donso
jackal	wɛnsɛ
hole	jiɛn-o
hunger	kɔŋɔ
power	faŋa

Gingiss (1973, 26) points out that frequently the nasal element voices the following consonant and then is often deleted.

hunter	donso / donzo / dozo
betray	jamfa / jamva / java

g) Nasal Consonants

In a few cases medial /n/ is lost and the remaining vowel(s) will be nasalized.

tomorrow	sĩ
farm	sɛ̃

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

There is considerable evidence of vowel reduction in this dialect. The historical process may have taken place in a number of ways. As in many other dialects of southern Guinea, medial /l/ may have changed to /y/ and the preceding vowel may then have reduced, producing a range of modified vowels and diphthongs. Equally plausibly, the vowel preceding the liquid may first have reduced in many of the Bambara dialects. The cluster of consonant and liquid may then have undergone various sound changes resulting in the configurations that we find today. In either case, the resulting forms make the Koyaga dialects some of the most outstanding in the Mandekan cluster.

	Worodugukan	Standard Bambara
bread	bü	mburu
oil	tü	tulu

	Worodugukan	Standard Bambara
hand	bö	bolo
bone	kwö	kolo
ear	tö	tolo
elder	kɔ̈	kɔrɔ
bead	kwɔ	kolon

The vowels with the trema /¨/ represent front rounded vowels. There are a large number of cases where the front rounded vowel corresponds to two back vowels of the same height separated by a liquid /r, l/. In some cases there is additional labialization, e.g. 'bone' kwö. In a few other cases, there is labialization, but no fronting, e.g. 'bead' kwɔ.

two	fla	
inlaw	blan	
catch	mla	
think	mii	
sun	tie	(possibly tye)
war	kiɛ	(possibly kyɛ)
road	šea	
merchant	joa	
monkey	šoa	

b) Nasalization

Nasalized vowels in Worodugukan by and large correspond to nasalized vowels in other Mandekan dialects.

head	kun
neck	kan
child	den

When followed by another word, there is a rule of nasal shift which voices the following consonant and often denasalizes the vowel. This is very similar to the process in Segou Bambara.

one child	den kein	→	de gein
on foot	sen fɛ	→	se vɛ

c) The Raising of /-a/

This process does not operate in Worodugukan.

time	sinya
eye	nya

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process has not operated in these dialects.

child	den
foot	sen
arrive	se
house	so
woman	muso

4. Tone

The tonal system of Worodugukan has a number of striking differences with the major dialects of Mandekan. These differences, summarized from Gingiss (1973, 41-47), are as follows:

1. As in the other dialects, tone is a word level phenomenon. There are either high tone words or low tone words. In Worodugukan however there is an additional breakdown of nouns in which one subset takes a high tone determiner /ó/ and the other takes a low tone determiner /ò/.

the wood	lɔ́gɔ́ɔ̀
the market	lɔ́gɔ́ɔ́

2. The above tonal distinction operates on all elements following these nouns, not just the definite article, e.g.:

three pieces of wood	lɔ́gɔ́ sàbà
three markets	lɔ́gɔ́ sábà

3. The first syllable after first and second person singular pronouns is always high.

my wife	ń músò

A number of other morphotonemic changes discussed by Gingiss seem to be extremely important for the understanding of the overall evolution of the tonal systems of Mandekan and related languages like Vai and Soninke. The reader is referred to Gingiss' work for further details.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

I	ne
you	i
he/she/it	a
we	an
you	álu
they	àlu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is o, occuring at the end of the noun phrase. It will have either high or low tone, depending on the tone class of the morpheme that precedes it.

the firewood	lɔ́gɔ́ɔ́
the market	lɔ́gɔ́ɔ̀

In some cases the definite article will assimilate to the preceding vowel.

the gown	dàleɔ̀ / dàleè

c) The Plural Marker

lù :	horses	šolù

d) The Possessive

Alienable possession is marked by the possessive link ya.

my cow	n ya nisio
my hand	n bö

Gingiss (1973, 52) also points out that ta is a frequent possessive link with a particular meaning something on the order of 'the one which is mine (yours, etc.)'.

the cow that is mine (as opposed to others)	n ta nisio

This form of possession also occurs in many other Mandekan dialects.

e) The Emphatic Marker

le :	my father will go	n fa le ya taga

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

te :	I had gone	n te yɛ taga
	I would buy it	n te ya a san

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

trans.	ka :	I bought it	n ka a san
	ma :	I didn't buy it	n ma a san
intrans.	-la :	I went	n tagala
	ma :	I didn't go	n ma taga

ii. The Narrative Past

Gingiss (1973, 99-103) introduces the term "narrative past". It is not clear how this term corresponds to those used in our discussion.

ye :	I bought it	n ye a san
	I went	n ye taga
ma :	I didn't buy it	n ma a san
	I didn't go	n ma taga

iii. The Recent Past

There is no evidence given for a recent past in Worodugukan.

iv. The General Noncompletive

yɛ ... -la :	I am (in the act of) going	n yɛ tagala
tɛ ... -la :	I am not going	n tɛ tagala

Gingiss mentions a completive present composed of the above auxiliaries without -la, but he does not discuss its use, nor the manner in which it is kept distinct from the narrative past.

I buy it	n yɛ a san
I go	n yɛ taga
I don't go	n tɛ taga

v. Future

ya :	I will buy it	n ya a san
	I will go	n ya taga
tε ya :	I will not buy it	n tε ya a san
	I will not go	n tε ya taga

vi. Gingiss cites an ingressive auxiliary meaning roughly 'to be about to'.

kö :	I am about to buy it	n kö a san
	I am about to go	n kö taga
tε kö :	I am not about to buy it	n tε kö a san
	I am not about to go	n tε kö taga

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

Both la and ma.

He is at home (compound)	a yε lu ma
Sickness is on him	sasao yε a la

b) Relational

le (?):	My father is a hunter	n fa donso le le

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

lo :	It's a woman	muso lo
tε :	It's not a woman	muso tε

b) Predicate Nominal

My grandfather is a hunter	n bεmacε donso le le
My grandfather is not a hunter	n bεmacε tε donso le le

c) Locative

yɛ :	I am at home	n yɛ lu ma
tɛ :	I am not at home	n tɛ lu ma

C.7. Southeastern Guinea: Konya / Manya / Mau.

The Konya are found in the Beyla region whereas the Manya are centered around Macenta. Konyakan seems similar to Worodugukan. Karagbakan and Gbanakan are also quite similar to Worodugukan. The Toma-Manya are found beginning at Konsakoro up to Macenta. Moriwulendu is roughly the boundary between the Toma (Loma) and the Manya. The Toma-Manya speak a dialect of Mandekan. The Toma(Loma) speak a related but quite distinct language. There are a considerable number of subgroups of Toma-Manya about whom we have little information: the Koyegberema form a boundary with the Kuranko. The Konokoroka is the branch that goes towards Kerouané. The Boussenka are found in the region of Beyla. The Konokoroka are very closely related to the Kwadaka on the border of Guinea and Liberia. The Kwada area begins near Daro, Diomandou and Gbaro. The Manya people of Liberia are all very closely related to these peoples in both language and culture.

The dialect that we have selected to represent here is referred to as Tumun-Manya.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences between /f/ and /h/, these dialects have /f/.

father	fa
two	fila
say	fɔ
cloth	fanin

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /d/ and /l/, this area has /l/.

root	lilen
lie down	la
star	lolo
stand	nɔ
honey	li

c) Palatals

In the correspondences of /j/ and /y/ this area has the following:

show	yira
fry	jiɛna
fish	jɛ
tree	jiri
here	jan
there	yenɔ
see	ye

d) Palatalizations

There are only a few palatalizations in these dialects.

man	cɛ
bite	cin
sand	kinyɛ
many	siyaman
middle	tɛma
truth	tɔnya

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. These dialects have a voiced labiovelar stop /gb/.

kitchen	gbakan
hard	gbele
skin	gbolo
heavy	gbili

ii. In the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, these dialects have /k/.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
back	kɔ
bird	kɔnɔ

iii. With the velar nasal, these dialects show the following:

hero	ŋwana
itch	ŋwɔnyɔ
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋgonin

f) Prenasals

Our corpus shows sporadic distribution of prenasalized initial consonants.

thief	nzon
rust	son
rabbit	sanin
Monday	ntɛnɛn

spider	talontalonba
frog	tori / todi
grasshopper	nton
oil palm	tin
squirrel	kɛrɛnin
dew	komin
guitar	ngɔnin

g) Nasals

Nasal morphemes or words ending in nasals frequently cause the voicing of the initial consonant of the following word. Often the nasal itself may be lost as a result.

my father   n fa becomes: va

2. Intervocalic Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In this set of correspondences, we find the following:

benediction	duwawu
meat	sobo
dream	sibo
vulture	duwa

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /t/, /d/, and /r/, we find the following:

tie	siri
plant	turu
thigh	woro

baobab	sira
frog	tori

c) Liquids

In the correspondences between /r/ and /l/, these dialects show the following:

fire	lolu
rope	julu
heavy	gbilin
canoe	kurun
fear	siyan
run	bori
sew	kara
moon	karo
indigo	kara

d) Velars

As with most other dialects of this area, in the correspondences of intervocalic /g/, /k/ and /0/, these dialects have /0/.

salt	kɔ
name	tɔ
younger	dɔmanin
sleep	sunɔ
sit	si
twenty	muan / muwan
go	ta
kill	fua

e) Palatals

Our data show few reductions of /ny/.

handsome	kinya
time	senya
truth	tɔnya
sand	kinyɛ
heritage	kiyɛn

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

These clusters have for the most part not been retained, except for the sequence /ns/.

pass	timin
dew	kɔmin
elephant	sama
hunter	donso / donzo / dozo

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

Vowels do not reduce in these dialects.

divide	tala
sun	tele
ear	tolo
game	tolon
two	fila
place	bila
beer	dɔlɔ
gown	yiriki

b) Nasalization

Nasalization is , in general, retained.

child	den
sell	san
one	kelen
enter	don
foot	sen

Note that the nasal element may shift to the initial consonant of the following word. This will denasalize the vowel and voice the following consonant.

c) The Raising of /-a/

Our data generally show /-a/.

truth	tɔnya
mouse	nyina
rainy season	samaji
eye	nya

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process does not operate in these dialects.

child	den
one	kelen
horse	so

4. Tone

We have no data on the tonal phenomena relevant to these dialects.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) The Definite Article

It appears that the dialects herein examined have a definite article similar to Kankan Maninka. The reader is referred back to that section.

b) The Plural Marker

-lu (-nu after nasals):

snake	sa
snakes	salu
tooth	nyin
teeth	nyinnu
cow	misi
cows	misilu

c) The Possessive

la (na after nasals):

his knife	a la muru
my knife	n na muru

We find numerous examples where the inalienable la is not present:

his knife	a muru

d) The Emphatic Marker

le : Madu is a blacksmith Madu numu le le

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tɛ̀ / *ti* : He was farming — a tɛ sɛnɛ kɛla

He wasn't farming — a ti tɛ sɛnɛ kɛla

He was drinking water — a tɛ bɛ ji min

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

-*ra* : He went out — a bɔra

ma : He didn't go out — a ma bɔ

ii. The Stative Completive

This dialect requires *don* as a predicator.

He is tired — a sɛlen don

iii. The General Noncompletive

bɛ : He drinks water — a bɛ ji min

tɛ : He doesn't drink water — a tɛ ji min

iv. The Progressive

There are two forms, perhaps with subtle distinctions of meaning:

bɛ *ka* : He is drinking the water — a bɛ ka ji min

tɛ *ka* : He isn't drinking the water — a tɛ ka ji min

or *ye* ... -*la* : Madu is farming — Madu sɛnɛ kɛla

tɛ ... -*la* : Madu isn't farming — Madu tɛ sɛnɛ kɛla

As in the above example, the auxiliary *ye* often deletes with a third person subject.

v. Future

There are many expressions to characterize future activity.

- immanent future: Uses the present particple of na 'come'.

nato / nɛtɔ / natɛ :

He is about to drink the water	a natɛ ji min

tɛ nana -la :

He isn't about to drink the water	a tɛ nana ji minna

- near future: This form uses the suffix -ta on the verb. It is negated as in the above form.

He leaves tomorrow	a bɔta sinin
He isn't leaving tomorrow	a tɛ nana bɔla sinin

- general future:

bina :	He will drink water	a bina ji min
	He will leave	a bina bɔ
tina :	He won't drink water	a tina ji min
	He won't leave	a tina bɔ

vi. Imperative

Leave!	bɔ!
Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
You (pl) drink!	á: ji min!
Don't you (pl) drink!	á kana ji min!

vii. Subjunctive/Infinitive

ka :	I want to leave	n'a fɛ ka bɔ

Note that the auxiliary yɛ is often deleted.

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

rɔ / la :	There is water in his mouth	jiɛ ye a da la
	He shouldn't go anywhere	a kana taa diya rɔ

la is used with verb forms.

He was farming	a sɛnɛ kɛla

b) Relational

Madu is a smith	Madu ye numu le

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

le :	It's the smith	numu le
tɛ :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

Ø ... le le :	Madu is the smith	Madu numu le le
tɛ ... le :	Madu is not the smith	Madu tɛ numu le

c) Existential

ye :	It's cold	nɛnɛ ye
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

d) Locative

ye / Ø:	Madu is in the field	Madu foro la
tɛ :	Madu is not in the field	Madu tɛ foro la

C.8. Kita and Fuladugu.

The region of Kita is actually rather small, limited in the main to the small set of hills and mountains around the town of Kita. There are, to the north of Kita, two large regions extending up to the Baoule bend. Both of these regions are referred to as Fuladugu. To the west is Fuladugu Sabula and to the east is Fuladugu Arbala. The language of these areas, at least that of the villages to the immediate north of Kita, is similar enough to the Kita dialect to include them in one linguistic group.

In our opinion, the Kita region marks the great division in the orientation of Mandekan dialects. From Kita westward, the Mandekan speaking world orients itself towards Senegal, the Gambia and the Atlantic Ocean. East of Kita, the orientation of the Mandekan-speaking population is towards the major population centers of Bamako, Segou and Mopti, and then on to the Ivory Coast.

It is these socio-economic orientations that to a large extent shape the form of the linguistic message. The split is fairly clearly marked by the following features, which we will classify roughly as Bambara-oriented (eastern) and Mandinka-oriented (western):

East	West
1. palatalization	1. no palatalization
2. prenasals	2. loss of prenasals
3. tense and lax mid vowels	3. raising of /e/ and /o/ to /i/ and /u/
4. no intervocalic alveolar stops	4. intervocalic /t/

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

This area is marked by a continuing shift from /f/ to /h/. In the east, instances of /h/ are rare. In the immediate Kita area they are more frequent.

fault	hɛ
father	fa
two	fula
thin	fasa
wind	fɔnyɔ / hɔnyɔ
cloth	hanu
say	hɔ

b) Alveolars

i. In those correspondences between /d/ and /l/, this area has /l/.

root	lili
lie down	li
star	lolo
honey	li
stand	lɔ

ii. There are however instances of /d/ corresponding to Bambara /j/.

	Kita	Bambara
gather	dɛ	jɛ

c) Palatals

In the correspondences of /j/ and /y/, one finds a development of /h/ in this area, as well as the following:

show	hita
tree	yiri / hiri
fry	yilan / hilan
here	yan
see	ye

d) Palatalizations

With the exception of the eastern dialects, this area has no palatalizations.

man	kɛ
good looks	kɛnyi
bite	kin
between	tɛ
sand	kɛnyɛ
bean	sɔsɔ
chicken	sisɛ
hair	si
shea	se
scratch	sa
many	siya

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. All dialects in this area have lost the labial elements of the labiovelars.

kitchen	ga

hard	gɛlɛman
heavy	giliman
bad	gu
skin	gulu

ii. In our corpus, we find no correspondences between /k/ and /x/. These correspondences begin a little further to the east.

neck	kan
cry	kasi
stream	kɔ
bird	kɔnɔ
new	kuta

iii. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is fairly stable throughout this region.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋanya
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋɔni / wɔni

f) Prenasals

With the exception of some Bambara dialects in the Fuladugu region, the prenasal elements are not present in this region, and the associated obstruents are generally voiceless.

watermelon	sara
thief	sun
rust	sun
spider	tali

Monday	tɛnɛn
toad	toti
grasshopper	tɔn
cricket	karɛ
lute	kontin
dew	kombi
baboon	gɔn

2. Intervocalic Consonants

a) Labials, Velars and Labiovelars

In those correspondences between /g/, /b/, /f/, /w/, etc., the Kita Region has the following:

meat	subu
dream	sibo
dove	tuban
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /t/, /d/, and /r/, the Kita region has generally /t/.

tie	siti
elder	kɔtɔ
thigh	wutu
leaf	hita
short	sutun
get	sɔtɔ

c) Liquids

In the correspondences between /r/ and /l/ the Kita region has the following:

five	lulu
rope	julu
canoe	kulun
road	sila
fear	silan
run	bori
sew	kara
moon	karu
indigo	gara (waa)

d) Velars

Intervocalic velar obstruents are generally retained.

salt	kɔkɔ / kɔgɔ
name	tɔkɔ / tɔgɔ
go	taga / taka
kill	haga / haka
eight	sɛgin / sɛkin

e) Palatals

In general, the medial palatal nasal has maintained its form.

wind	hɔnyɔ / fɔnyɔ
liver	binya / bɛnyɛ

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

In general nasal plus consonant clusters have not been reduced.

pass	tambi
wing	kamban
axe	yende
healthy	kɛndɛ
drum	dundun
force	faŋga
hunger	kɔŋgɔ
price	sɔnyɔ
hunter	dunsu

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

Vowels do not reduce in this area.

divide	tala
two	hula / fila / fula

b) Nasalization

The nasalization of vowels is generally unaffected by context.

head	kun
neck	kan
child	din

c) The Raising of /-a/

This process does not operate in this region.

eye	nya
forget	nyina
steal	sunya
liver	binya

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

All the dialects of this region are subject to this process, with the exception of Fuladugu.

child	din / dindin
leg	sen
arrive	si
arm	bulu
horse	su (nsu)
bone	kulu (xulu)
woman	musu
hunter	dunsu / dusu

4. Tone

Our corpus contains no specific information with respect to tone. Our field notes however indicate that the tonal system is similar to that described for Bamako.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	nde
i	ite
a	ate / ale / ade
an	andelu
ilu / alu	ítelu
alu / olu	ìtelu / olu

b) The Definite Article

Our data does not specifically bring out instances of the definite article. It is our impression that in the southern and central parts of the region, the definite article is tonal and operates according to the Bamako system.

c) The Plural Marker

-lu (-nu after nasals):

women	mùsúlù
children	dindinnu

d) The Possessive

The most widespread form of the possessive marker is ye.

his knife	a ye muru

Spread widely through the area is ka.

his knife	a ka muru

Frequently, when the pronoun is emphatic, one finds no possessive link at all.

my home	nde lu

e) The Emphatic Marker

Over most of the area, the emphatic marker is le.

He is a smith	a ye numu le ti

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

tɛrɛ :	He was home	a tɛrɛ su kɔnɔ
tɛrɛ tɛ :	He wasn't home	a tɛrɛ tɛ su kɔnɔ

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

transitive: There are two completive forms in this area, but out corpus is not sensitive enougn to distinguish their semantics.

ye :	He drank water	a ye ji min
ti / di / de :	"	a ti ji min

There is a common negative for both.

ma :	He didn't drink water	a ma ji min

intransitive:

-ta :	He left	a bɔta
	He came	a nata
ma :	He didn't leave	a ma bɔ

ii. Stative Completive

Over much of the region, the past participle is formed by the suffix -ni / -in. Occasionally, in other areas, one finds -len. The past participle alone functions as a predicate.

The cloth is washed	hanu kuni

iii. Hypothetical Completive

man :	Should he come out ...	a mana bɔ ...

iv. General Noncompletive

bɛ :	He comes out	a bɛ bɔ
tɛ :	He doesn't come out	a tɛ bɔ

v. Progressive

ye (NP) V-la :	He is coming out	a ye bɔla
tɛ (NP) V-la :	He isn't coming out	a tɛ bɔla

vi. Future

The most widespread forms were:

bɛna : He will come out	a bɛna bɔ
tɛna : He won't come out	a tɛna bɔ

vii. Imperative

Come out!	bɔ!
Don't come out!	kana bɔ!
You (pl) come out!	ilu bɔ!
You (pl) don't come out!	ilu kana bɔ!

viii. Hortative

ma (NP) V-la :

May God save you	Ala ma i kisila

ix. Subjunctive

ka : I want him to leave	n y'a hɛ a ka bɔ

x. Infinitive

ka : I want to leave	n y'a hɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

tɔ : It should be granted to you	a ka dun i tɔ

b) Relational

Most widespread is ti.

He became a smith	a kɛta numu ti

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

le :	It's the smith	numu le
tɛ :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

ye ... ti :	He's a smith	a ye numu ti
tɛ ... ti :	He's not a smith	a tɛ numu ti

c) Predicate Adjective

ka :	It's good	a ka di
man :	It's not good	a man di

d) Existential

ye :	It's cold	nɛnɛ ye
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

ye :	Fanta's in the compound	Fanta ye lu ma
tɛ :	Fanta's not in the compound	Fanta tɛ lu ma

C.9. Kaarta - Kagoro.

Fuladugu Arbala and Fuladugu Sabula constitute the northen sections of the Kita region. The Baoule River marks their northern boundary. Just across the Baoule begins the Kaarta region, of which the main town is Diéma. The Kaarta today is an extraordinarily diverse region. Its main population is Soninke with a large Fula contingent. Many Bambara have moved westward to settle in the area and Maninka and Khassonke from the south and west have likewise established towns there.

We have decided to use the Kagoro dialect to represent the speech of this area. The Kagoro's history is little understood. Some claim them to be an offshoot of the Soninke. The linguistic evidence in any case clearly reveals them to be closely related to the Kita Maninka.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences between /f/, /h/, /p/, etc., one finds both /f/ and /h/.

blow	fiyɛ
father	fa
two	fula
this	fasa
wind	hɔnyɔ
cloth	hanu
say	hɔ

c) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /d/ and /l/, Kagoro generally has /l/.

root	lili
lie down	la
star	lolo
honey	li
stand	lɔ

c) Palatals

In the correspondences between /j/ and /y/, generally one finds /y/.

show	yira
tree	yiri
fry	yira
here	yan
see	ye
there	yenhɛ
fish	jɛgɛ

d) Palatalizations

i. In the correspondences between /c/, /t/ and /k/, one finds /t/ and /k/.

man	kɛ
handsome	kɛnyi
bite	kin
between	tɛ
truth	tonya
sand	kɛnyɛkɛnyɛ

ii. Kagoro has instances of /sy/ arising from the modification of a medial consonant.

bean	syɔ
chicken	syɛ
time	syɛn

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In those correspondences of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., Kagoro generally has /g/.

kitchen	gaso
hard	gɛlɛn
heavy	girin
skin	gulu

ii. In the correspondences of /k/ and /x/, Kagoro has /k/.

man	kɛ
neck	kan
cry	kasi
belly	kɔnɔ
elder	kɔtɔ

iii. In those correspondences of /ŋ/, /ŋw/, etc., Kagoro has /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋanya
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋɔni

f) Prenasals

i. ns

watermelon	sɛrɛ
thief	son
rabbit	sonsan
rust	son

ii. nt

spider	ntalen
Monday	ntɛnɛn
toad	ntoti
grasshopper	ntɔn

iii. nk

lie	nkalon
squirrel	nkɛrɛn
lute	nkɔni

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In the correspondences of /b/, /g/, /w/, etc., one finds the following:

meat	sugu
dream	sibo
dove	nturano
vulture	dufa

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /t/, /d/, and /r/, one frequently finds /t/.

tie	siti
elder	kɔtɔ
thigh	wuto
show	hita
short	sutu
get	sɔtɔ

c) Liquids

In the correspondences between /l/ and /r/, Kagoro has /r/.

five	duuru
rope	juru
canoe	kurun
fear	siran
sew	kara
indigo	gara

d) Velars

Velar obstruents are found in medial position, frequently in the form of voiced velar fricatives.

salt	kɔγɔ
name	tɔγɔ
go	taγa
kill	faγa

e) Palatals

Palatal nasals are found in medial position.

time	sinya
wind	fɔnyɔ

truth	tonya
world	dnya
liver	binyɛ

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

Nasal plus consonant clusters are found at all points of articulation.

pass	tambe
wing	kampanwo
axe	yende
health	kɛndɛ
strength	faŋga
hunger	kɔŋgɔ
hunter	donso
hole	dinyɛ

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

Kagoro does not in general reduce vowels.

divide	tala
two	fula
catch	mita

b) Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is unaffected by context.

head	kun
neck	kanwo
child	den / denwo

c) Raising of /-a/

Kagoro has /-a/ in this position.

eye	nya
mouse	nyina
truth	tonya
steal	sonya

d) Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process seems to have operated partially in Kagoro, effecting /o/ to /u/, more than /e/ to /i/.

child	denwo
leg	senwo
arrive	se
arm	bulu
horse	su
bone	kulu
woman	musu

4. Tone

We have no information on the operation of tones in Kagoro.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	ne
i	ele
a	ale

an	nelu
á	alu
alu	olu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is generally -o.

He didn't buy the cloth	a ma hano san
He didn't buy cloth	a ma hunu san

After a nasal the definite article is -wo.

the child	denwo

c) The Plural Marker

The plural marker is -lu and follows the definite article.

people	mɔgolu
children	denwolu

d) The Possessive

ye :	his knife	a ye muru
	my money	n ye woti

e) The Emphatic Particle

le :	MADU came	Madu le nata

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

One finds both tun and tɛrɛ.

He was farming	a tɛrɛ be ka ki kɛ
	a tun bɛ ka ki kɛ

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

trans. ta : He did farming   a ta ki kɛ

ma : He didn't do farming   a ma ki kɛ

intrans. -ta : He left   a bɔta

ma : He didn't leave   a ma bɔ

ii. The Stative Completive

The past participle is formed by the suffix -len, and it constitutes a predication by itself.

It's red   a wulelen

iii. The General Noncompletive

bɛ : I drink water   n bɛ ji min

ti : I don't drink water   n ti ji min

iv. Future

bɛna : He will leave   a bɛna bɔ

tɛna : He will not leave   a tɛna bɔ

v. Subjunctive

ka : He should leave   a ka bɔ

kana : He shouldn't leave   a kana bɔ

vi. Hortative

ma (NP) V-la : May God save you   Ala ma i kisila

vii. Infinitive

ka : I want to leave   n b'a fɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) General Locative

tɔ :	He is in the field	a bɛ foto tɔ

b) Relational

ti :	He became a smith	a kɛta numu ti

c) Dative

ma :	Give the cloth to him	hano d'a ma

4. Sentence Types

a) Identity

NP lo :	It's the smith	numu lo
NP tɛ :	It's not the smith	numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

mi ... ti :	This is the cloth	nin mi hano le ti
ntɛ ... ti :	This isn't cloth	nin ntɛ hanu ti

c) Predicate Adjective

ka :	It's good	a ka di
man :	It's not good	a man di

d) Existential

mu :	It's cold	nɛnɛ mu
tɛ :	It's not cold	nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

mu :	He's in the field	a mu foto tɔ
ntɛ :	He's not in the field	a ntɛ foto tɔ

C.10. Gangaran - Banyaradugu - Gadugu.

The area between the Bafing and the Bakoye contains a number of relatively small cantons, the major three of which are the Gangaran in the north; Banyaradugu in the central areas and Gadugu in the south. There are a number of linguistic differences between these three regions, particularly in the north-south axis, but there are enough similarities to group them within the same region.

This is an area where /ė/ and /o/ have raised to /i/ and /u/, resulting in a five vowel system. The mid vowels vary phonetically in quality betwen lax /ɔ/ and tense /o/. These distinctions have often been noted in our corpus, but the reader should recall that the oppositions are not, to our knowledge, phonemic.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In the correspondences between /f/, /h/ and /p/, the northern area has almost entirely /h/ with increasing occurrences of /f/ towards the south.

	Gangaran	Banyara	Gadugu
fault	hɛ	--	--
father	ha	fa	fa
two	hula	hula	fula
thin	hasa	fasa	hasa
wind	hɔnyɔ	honyo	fonyo
cloth	hanu	hanu	hanu
say	hɔ	hɔ	hɔ

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences of /d/ and /l/, this area has /l/.

root	lili
lie down	la
star	lolo
honey	li
stand	lo

c) Palatals

In the alternations of /j/ and /y/, these areas have the following:

show	hita
tree	yiri (Toukoto: nyiri)
fry	yila
here	jan
see	ye / je
there	je / jenno

d) Palatalization

These areas have no palatalizations.

man	kɛ
good looks	kɛnyi
bite	kin
between	tɛ
sand	kɛnyɛ
bean	sɔsɔ
chicken	sisɛ
hair	si

shea	sɛ (Kokofata: šɛ)
scratch	sa
many	siya

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the alternations of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., these areas have primarily /g/.

kitchen	ga
hard	gɛlɛman
heavy	giliman (Kokofata: giriman)
bad	ku / gu
skin	gulu

ii. Our corpus shows numerous instances of /x/ for /k/ in Kokofata and Sagabau, but very few in Toukoto.

	Kokofata	Sagabari	Toukoto
neck	kan	xan	kan
cry	xasi	kasi	kasi
stream	xɔ	kɔ	kɔ
back	xɔ	xɔ	kɔ
bird	xɔnɔ	xɔnɔ	kɔnɔ
new	kura	kuta	kuta

iii. In the correspondences of /ŋ/, /ŋw/, etc., these areas generally have /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana
rash	ŋanya
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋoni (wɔni in Gadugu)

f) Prenasals

As with most of the Mandekan area, these regions have no prenasals, with the exception of Gadugu.

	General	Gadugu
watermelon	sara	sara
thief	sun	nsun
rust	sun	nsun
spider	tali	tali
Monday	tɛnɛn	ntɛnɛn
toad	toti	toti
grasshopper	ton	tun
cricket	kare / kɛɛrɛn	nkare
lute	kontin	nkontin
dew	kombi	ngombi
baboon	gɔn	ngɔn

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In those correspondences between /b/, /g/, /f/, etc., these areas generally have /b/.

meat	subu
dream	sibo
dove	tubandi
vulture	duga

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, these areas generally have /t/.

tie	siti
elder	kɔtɔ
thigh	wutu
leaf	hita
short	sutuman (Sagabari: suru)
get	sɔtɔ

c) Liquids

In those correspondences between /r/ and /l/, these areas have the following:

five	lulu
rope	julu
canoe	kulun (Kokofata: xulon)
road	sila
fear	silan
run	bori
sew	kara
moon	karu
indigo	gara

d) Velars

In these areas, velar obstruents are retained in medial position, but the vary from /k/ to /g/ to /x/.

	General	Gadugu
salt	kɔgɔ / kɔkɔ	xɔxɔ
name	tɔgɔ / tɔkɔ	tɔxɔ
go	taga / taka	(wa)
eight	sagin / sɛgin	sɛgi
kill	haga / haka	faxa

e) Palatals

Palatal nasals are generally preserved in medial position.

wind	honyo / fonyo
liver	binya

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

These clusters are retained throughout the area.

pass	tambi
wing	kamba (Sagabari: xambara)
axe	yende
healthy	kɛndɛ
drum	dundun
force	faŋga
hunger	kɔŋkɔ / kɔŋgɔ
price	sonyo
hunter	dusu / dunsu

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

There is no vowel reduction in these areas.

divide	tala
two	hula / fula
grab	miṭa

b) Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is retained regardless of the context.

child	din / dindin
neck	kan / xan
grasshopper	ton / tun

c) The Raising of /-a/

This process does not generally operate in this region.

eye	nya
mouse	nyina
grab	mita
truth	tunya
steal	sunya

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

In this area, /e/ and /o/ have risen to /i/ and /u/ respectively.

child	din / dindin
leg	sin
arrive	si
arm	bulu
horse	su
bone	kulu
woman	musu
hunter	dusu / dunsu

4. Tone

We have little information on the operation of tone in these areas. We would hypothesize that the tones operate like those in Mandinka.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
n	nde
i	ite
a	ate
an	andelu
ilu / álu	ítelu / átelu
olu / àlu	ìtelu / wolu

b) The Definite Article

In Gadugu and Banyaradugu, the definite article appears to be tonal, but its exact operation is not understood. In the Gangaran, the definite article ò begins to manifest itself.

the elephant	sam'o
the spear	tamb'o
the knife	mur'o

c) The Plural Marker

-lu (-nu after nasals):

the women	musulu
the legs	sinnu

d) The Possessive

The link for alienable possession is ye, but when emphatic pronouns are used, there is no link.

his knife	a ye muru
MY house	nde su

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

In the Gangaran and in Banyaradugu, the past marker is tɛrɛ. In Sagabani our corpus shows tun.

He was here	a tɛrɛ jan
He wasn't here	a tɛrɛ tɛ jan

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

transitive: There are two affirmative completive markers, but our corpus does not contain information to determine their semantics.

ye :	He saw the woman	a ye musu je
ti / di :	"	a ti musu je

The negation for both is ma.

He didn't see the woman	a ma musu je

intransitive

-ta :	He went out	a bɔta
ma :	He didn't go out	a ma bɔ

ii. Hypothetical Completive

mana :	Should he go out ...	a mana bɔ ...

iii. General Noncompletive

bɛ :	He goes out	a bɛ bɔ
tɛ :	He doesn't go out	a tɛ bɔ

iv. Progressive

ye (NP) V-la : He is going out a ye bɔla

tɛ (NP) V-la : He isn't going out a tɛ bɔla

v. Future

yena : He will go out a yena bɔ

tena : He will not go out a tena bɔ

vi. Imperative

sg.	Leave!	bɔ!
	Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
pl.	Leave!	ilu bɔ!
	Don't leave!	ilu kana bɔ!

vii. Hortative

ma / me / mi + V-la :

May God save you! Ala m'i kisila

viii. Subjunctive

ka / kɛ : I want him to leave n y'a hɛ a kɛ bɔ

ix. Infinitive

ka : I want to leave n y'a hɛ ka bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

tɔ : He left the road a bɔta sila tɔ

ma is used more in locatives than in the eastern dialects.

Fanta is in the house Fanta ye lu ma

b) Relational

ti (occasional instances of ye):

He became a smith   a kɛta numu le ti

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

NP le : It's the smith   numu le

NP tɛ : It's not the smith   numu tɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

ye ... ti (occasionally ye ... ye):

He is the smith   a ye numu ti

tɛ ... ti (occasionally ntɛ ... ti):

He isn't the smith   a tɛ numu le ti

c) Predicate Adjective

ka (xa in Gadugu):

It is big   a ka bun

man : It isn't big   a man bun

d) Existential

ye : It's cold   nɛnɛ ye

tɛ : It's not cold   nɛnɛ tɛ

e) Locative

ye : He's in the house   a ye lu ma

tɛ : He's not in the house   a tɛ lu ma

C.11. The Xaso.

The Xaso is a vast area which we have placed on two maps, the Xaso-West and Xaso-East. In spite of its size, it is a relatively homogeneous linguistic area and we will devote only one description to it.

The Xaso extends from Kayes southward along the Faleme, its southern limits being just south of Bafoulabe. The Xasonke blend into the Soninke population north of Kayes and extend eastward, north of Bafoulabe as far as Kaarta.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In those correspondences of /f/, /p/, and /h/, the Xaso has primarily /f/.

fault	fɛ
father	fa
two	fula (rarely fla)
thin	fasa (also labara)
cloth	fan-o (also bag-o)
blow	fute / fɛ

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences of /d/ and /l/, the Xaso has /l/.

root	lil-o (also sul-o)
lie down	la
star	lolo
honey	li
stand	lɔ

c) Palatalizations

These processes do not operate in the Xaso.

man	xɛ
bite	kin
sand	kɛny-o
middle	tɛ
break	ti
bean	sɔsɔ
chicken	sisɛ
hair	ti-o
shea	se / si
many	sa / siya

d) Palatals

In those correspondences between /j/ and /y/, the Xaso has the following:

show	yita
tree	yir-o
fry	yila
here	jan
see	je
there	jenfɛ / jeefe (also non / nonfɛ)
fish	nyog-o / nyeg-o

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the correspondences of /gb/, /g/, /k/, /x/, etc., the Xaso has the following:

kitchen	xa

hard	xole / xolen
heavy	xuli / xole
bad	ku
skin	gul-o

ii. In the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, one finds many instances of /x/ in the Xaso.

man	xɛ
do	kɛ
neck	kaŋ-o (sometimes xaŋ-o)
cry	xasi
back	xɔ
bird	xɔnɔ

iii. In the correspondences of /ŋ/, /ŋw/, etc., the Xaso has primarily /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana
scratch	ŋanya
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋanin-o / ŋaniŋ-o

f) Prenasals

As in much of the Mandekan area west of Kita, the prenasals are quite rare in the Xaso.

watermelon	sar-o
thief	suŋ-o
Monday	tɛnɛ -o
toad	tot-o
grasshopper	toŋ-o
oil palm	teŋo (Fukara: ntɛŋo)

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, Labiovelars

In those correspondences of /b/, /g/, /f/, etc., the Xaso has primarily /b/.

meat	sub-o
dream	sib-o
dove	tubaŋ-o / tubandiŋ-o
vulture	dug-ɔ

b) Alveolar

In those correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, the Xaso has /t/.

tie	siti
elder	kɔtɔ
short	sutu
plant	tutu
thigh	wut-o

c) Liquids

In those correspondences between /l/ and /r/, the Xaso has the following:

five	luulu
rope	jul-o
canoe	kuluŋ-o
fear	sila
run	bori
sew	xara
moon	war-o
indigo	gar-o

d) Velars

Velar obstruents are found intervocalically, in most cases they are voiced or voiceless fricatives.

salt	xɔxɔ / kɔxɔ
name	tɔxɔ / tɔγɔ
go	taxa / taγa
eight	sagi
kill	faγa / faxa

e) Palatals

Palatal nasals are generally found in intervocalic position.

wind	fony-o
liver	buny-o
truth	tuny-o

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

All manner of nasal plus consonant clusters are found in medial position.

pass	tambi
axe	yend-o
health	kɛnd-o
drum	dundun
rooster	duntun
strength	faŋg-o
hunter	duns-o

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

This process has not operated in the Xaso.

share	tala
two	fula

b) Vowel Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is not lost in context, but is frequently expressed by a final velar nasal /ŋ/, when the word is in isolation.

one	kiliŋ
buy	saŋ
bite	kiŋ

c) Raising of /-a/

This process has not operated in the Xaso.

eye	nya
steal	sunya

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

This process has operated exhaustively.

child	diŋ-o
leg	siŋ-o
arrive	si
arm	bul-o
horse	su-o
bone	kut-o
woman	mus-o

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
ń	nte
i	ite
a	ate
ǹ	ntelu
alu / al'	atelu
ì	ìtelu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article is -o, which, in affixing to a word often causes the elision of the word-final vowel.

woman	musu
the woman	mus-o

When the word is terminated by a final nasal, there may be either affixation after the nasal vowel, or the nasal may express itself as /ŋ/.

the thorn	ŋonin-o
the child	dindiŋ-o

A limited number of words do not take -o. They use tone and vowel length to differentiate definiteness.

the goat	bàâ

c) The Plural Marker

The plural marker is -lu and it always follows the definite article.

the children	dindiŋ-o-lu

d) The Possessive Marker

Alienable possession is marked by *la* (*na* after nasals).

his knife	a la muru
my knife	n na muru

e) The Emphatic Particle

le : The WOMAN came	mus-o le nata

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

The most common past marker is *tun*.

He was farming	a tun bɛ sɛnɛ kɛ

One also finds combinations of *taran* and *tun*.

He was farming	a taran tun bɛ sɛnɛ kɛ

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

trans.:	*xa* :	He drank water	a xa ji-o min
	man :	He didn't drink water	a man ji min
intrans.:	-*ta* :	He left	a bɔta
	man :	He didn't leave	a man bɔ

ii. The Stative Completive

Stative completive predicates are formed with the auxiliaries *bɛ* / *ntɛ* followed by the past participle formed with the suffix -*nin*.

He is living	a bɛ balunin
He is not living	a ntɛ balunin

iii. The General Noncompletive

bɛ / si : He drinks water a bɛ ji-o min

mɛ : He doesn't drink water a mɛ ji min

iv. The Progressive

bɛ (NP) V-la : He is leaving a bɛ bɔla

ntɛ (NP) V-la : He isn't leaving a ntɛ bɔla

v. Future

si (na) / bɛna : He will leave a si na bɔ

mɛ (na) : He will not leave a mɛ na bɔ

vi. Imperative

sg.	Leave!	bɔ!
	Don't leave!	xana bɔ!
pl.	Leave!	alu bɔ!
	Don't leave!	alu xana bɔ!

vii. Subjunctive

xa : I want him to leave n b'a fɛ a xa bɔ

viii. Infinitive

xa : I want to leave n b'a fɛ xa bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Location

to : He went to the field a tagala for-o to

b) Relational

ti : He became a smith a kɛta num-o ti

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

le mu : It's the woman — mus-o le mu

ntɛ : It's not a woman — musu ntɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

... mu ... le ti : He is the smith — a mu num-o le ti

... ntɛ ... ti : He is not a smith — a ntɛ numu ti

c) Predicate Adjective

xa : He is good — a xa nyi

man : He isn't good — a man nyi

d) Existential

This is rendered with locatives.

It's cold	nɛn-o b'a to
It's not cold	nɛn-o t'a to

e) Locative

bɛ : He's in the field — a bɛ foro to

ntɛ : He's not in the field — a ntɛ foro to

C.12. Bambugu.

The Bambugu is an old traditional region known in the early histories for its gold mines. It centers today around Kenieba.

The people of this area refer to themselves as Maninko or Mandinko, and orient themselves culturally, economically and linguistically towards Senegal and the Gambia.

We have included Koundian in this area because of its linguistic affiliations. In reality the area around Koundian is composed of a complex of small cantons, such as Jabedugu, centered around Kassama; Konkadugu, further to the south, between Kenieba and Koundian; and Sulon, which begins near Koundian and extends southward along the Bafing.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

This area has some instances of /h/ corresponding to /f/, but in the main, /f/ predominates. In the west /h/ tends to disappear.

	Kenieba	Koundian
father	--	fa
two	fula	hula
wind	fɔnyɔ	hɔnyɔ
cloth	hano	hano
say	fi	hɔ

b) Alveolars

In this region, the word for 'root' is sulu (sulo with the definite article. Otherwise, with respect to the /d/ ~ /l/ correspondences, this area has /l/.

lie down	la
star	lolo
honey	li
stand	lɔ

c) Palatalizations

As with other areas west of Kita, there are no palatalizations of any generality.

man	kɛba (Sadiola: xɛba)
good looks	kɛnyi
bite	kin
between	tɛ
sand	kɛnyo / kɛnyɛ (Kenieba: xɛnya)
bean	sɔsɔ (Kenieba: šɔsɔ)
chicken	sisɛ
hair	ti / tio
shea	se / sɛ
many	siya (Kasama: ca; Sadiola: kika)

d) Palatals

In the alternations of /y/ and /j/, this area has the following:

	Kenieba	Koundian
show	yita	hita
tree	yiro	yiro
fry	yila	yila
here	jan	jan
see	je	je
there	janhɛ	jɛ

e) Velars

i. With respect to the correspondences of /gb/, /gw/, /g/, etc., one finds no labiovelars in this region, but the widespread appearance of /x/, particularly in the northern and western areas.

	Kenieba	Koundian
kitchen	ga / ka	xa
hard	xole / kolen	xole
heavy	xoli	xuli
bad	--	xu
skin	gulo / kulo	gulo

ii. With regard to the correspondences of /k/ and /x/, we see the increasing importance of /x/, with the exception of our sample from Kassama.

	General	Kassama
man	kɛba (Koundian: xɛba)	kɛba
neck	xan	kan
cry	xasi (also kumbo)	kasi
stream	xɔ	kɔ
back	xɔ	kɔ
bird	xɔnɔ	kɔnɔ
thing	ku	--
new	kuta	kuta

iii. With respect to the velar nasals, this region has a fairly stable /ŋ/.

hero	ŋana

rash	ŋanya
crawl	ŋunuma
thorn	ŋani / ŋanyi / ŋoni

f) The Prenasals

The only prenasals in our corpus occur in the sample from Kassama. Otherwise, one generally finds just the voiceless obstruent.

	Kenieba	Kassama	General
watermelon	saro	saro	saro
thief	soŋ	su	suŋ
Monday	tεnε	ntεnε	tεnεn
toad	toto	toto	toto
grasshopper	tɔn	ntɔn	ton
cricket	xεrεn	nkεrεn	kεεrε
lute	xontin	nkontin	kontin
dew	xɔmbo	kobon	kombo
baboon	gɔŋ	ngon	gɔn

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Labiovelars, Velars

In those correspondences between /g/, /b/, /f/, etc., this area has the following:

meat	subo
dream	sibo / siibo
dove	tuban
vulture	dugo

b) Alveolars

In the correspondences between /t/, /d/, and /r/, this area generally has /t/.

tie	siti
elder	kɔtɔ (xɔtɔ in north and west)
thigh	wuto
leaf	fita / hita
short	sutun
get	sɔtɔ

c) Liquids

In the correspondences between /r/ and /l/, this area has the following:

five	lulu / luulu
rope	julo
canoe	kulun
road	silo
fear	silán
run	boro / bori
sew	xara (Kassama: kara)
moon	karo (Koundian: xaro)
indigo	garo

d) Velars

One finds a great deal of variation between voiced and voiceless and stop vs. fricative, but cases of velar obstruents corresponding to Ø are extremely rare.

salt	kɔgɔ / kɔkɔ (Koundian: xɔxɔ)
name	tɔgɔ / tɔxɔ
go	taga / taxa
kill	faga / faxa
eight	sagin

e) Palatals

The palatal nasal /ny/ is fairly stable throughout the region.

wind	fɔnyɔ
liver	bunyɔ / binyɔ
steal	sunya

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

In general, nasal plus consonant clusters are fairly stable, but one does find occasional cases where the nasal element is not present.

pass	tambi
gather	tombo
axe	yendo (Kassama: yedo)
healthy	kɛndɛ (Kassama: kɛro)
drum	dundun
rooster	duntun
force	faŋka / faŋgo (Koundian: haŋgo)
hunger	kɔŋgɔ (Koundian: xɔŋxɔ)
price	sɔŋgɔ (Koundian: sɔŋɔ)
hunter	dunsu (Koundian: duso)

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

This process does not operate in this region.

divide	tala
two	fula

b) Nasalization

There is sporadic and irregular loss of nasalization and occasional nasalization of elements not normally nasalized in other dialects, but, in general, nasalization is maintained, and in some cases strengthened to /ŋ/ in isolation.

child	din / diŋ
leg	sin / siŋ
house	buŋ
dance	dɔn / dɔŋ

c) The Raising of /-a/

This is not a systematic process in this region.

eye	nya
mouse	nyina
steal	sonya
liver	binya / binyɛ / bɛnyɛ

d) The Raising of /o/ and /e/

This process has operated exhaustively in this area.

child	dindin
leg	siŋ
arrive	si

arm	bulu
horse	su
bone	kulu
woman	musu

4. Tone

We have no information on the operation of tone in this region.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

	Regular	Emphatic
I	ń	ńte
you	í	íte
he / she	à	àte / ale
we	ǹ (also àn)	ǹtelu
you	álu	átelu
they	ì	ìtelu

b) Definite Article

Through most of this region there is a definite article -o, which occurs at the end of the noun phrase, just before the plural marker. Citation forms of nouns occur with the article, and involve a very complex system of elision of the word final vowel. A few nouns, like sa 'snake', ba 'goat' do not occur with a form of -o, but rather use rising tone to mark the definite and low level to mark the indefinite, as in the Bamako system.

Words ending in nasals trigger complex morphophonemic processes with the definite article. In some cases, one hears the nasal expressed as /ŋ/ and the definite article as /wo/, e.g.

the neck	xaŋwo

In some dialects, this occurs as a geminate /ŋ/.

the neck	xaŋŋo

Some speakers produce a nasal plus consonant cluster.

the neck	xaŋgo

In some dialects, when the final vowel is a nasalized /i/, the nasalization spreads to the definite article.

	Kassama
the lute	nkontĩõ
good looks	kɛnyĩõ

c) The Plural Marker

The plural is -lu, throughout the region. The plural marker follows the definite article.

the horses	suolu / suwolu

d) Possessives

The alienable possessive construction uses the link la (na after a nasal). Our sample from Kenieba includes some instances of ka.

It's my house	n na bun le mu
It's his house	a la bun le mu

e) The Emphatic Particle

The emphatic particle throughout the region is le.

The WOMAN came	muso le nata

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

In our corpus, the most general form of the past marker is *tun*. We find *taran*, operating like *tɛrɛ* in Koundian.

He was coming out   a tun si bɔ

b) The Auxiliary System

i. General Completive

trans. *xa* (*ka* in Kassala):

	He drank water	a xa jio min
man / *ma* :	He didn't drink water	a man jio min
intrans. -*ta* :	He went out	a bota
man / *ma* :	He didn't go out	a man bo

ii. Recent Past

In Kassama, we found a form perhaps equivalent to the Recent Past, *birin*.

He has gone out   a birin bo

iii. Stative Completive

It is not clear in our corpus whether the past participle alone can serve as a predicate. In any case, past participles are formed throughout the region by suffix -*nin* / -*ni* / -*ne*.

The water is drunk   jio minnio le mu

iv. Hypothetical Completive

We obtained a wide range of forms to satisfy this function.

General: *ni* + General Completive:

If he should come ...   ni a bota ...

Kassama: mana :

Should he leave ...	a mana bo ...

Koundian: banna V-la :

If he drinks ...	a banna ji minna ...

Sadiola: ni NP nata V:

Should he leave ...	ni a nata bo ...

v. General Noncompletive

There are two systems in use in this region, the semantics of which are not entirely clear. The most widespread is:

bɛ :	He drinks water	a bɛ jio min
tɛ :	He doesn't drink water	a tɛ ji min

One also finds throughout the region:

si :	He drinks water	a si jio min
mɛ :	He doesn't drink water	a mɛ ji min

vi. Progressive

Our corpus shows the following:

bɛ (NP) V-la :	He is going out	a bɛ bola
ntɛ (NP) V-la :	He isn't going out	a tɛ bola

vii. Near Future

In the Bafoulabe area, our corpus shows the following:

bɛ nala V-la :	He will go out	a bɛ nala bo
ntɛ nala V-la :	He won't go out	a ntɛ nala bo

viii. Future

As with the general noncompletive, there are at least two systems present.

	bɛna :	He will go out	a bɛna bɔ
	tɛna :	He won't go out	a tɛna bɔ
or	sina :	He will go out	a sina bɔ
	mɛna :	He won't go out	a mɛna bɔ

The general noncompletive forms are also widely used to express future action.

ix. Imperative

sg.	Leave!	bɔ!
	Don't leave!	kana bɔ!
pl.	Leave!	alu bɔ!
	Don't leave!	alu kana bɔ!

x. Hortative

mu : May God give you strength   Ala mu barika dun i to

xi. Subjunctive

south ka :	I want him to leave	n'a mu a ka bɔ
north xa :	"	n b'a hɛ a xa bɔ

xii. Infinitive

south ka :	I want to leave	n'a mu ka bɔ
north xa :	"	n b'a hɛ xa bɔ

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

to : He is in the field   a bɛ kena to

b) Relational

ti : He became a smith   a kɛta numu le ti

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

NP le mu :	It's the smith	numu le mu
NP tɛ / ntɛ :	It's not the smith	numu ntɛ

b) Predicate Nominal

NP mu NP le ti :	He's the smith	a mu numu le ti
NP ntɛ NP ti :	He's not the smith	a ntɛ numu ti

c) Predicate Adjective

south ka ; north xa :

It's good	a xa di

general man :

It's not good	a man di

d) Existential

All the dialects in this area used locatives for existential statements.

It's cold (Cold is in/on it)	nɛnɛ b'a to
It's not cold	nɛnɛ nt'a to

e) Locatives

bɛ :	He's in the field	a bɛ kɛna to
ntɛ :	He's not in the field	a ntɛ kɛna to

C.13. Mandinka.

Mandinka is the name we have given to the dialects of Mandekan spoken in western Senegal, most of the Gambia, the Casamance and Guinea Bissau. We have reason to believe that there is considerably more variation in this area than our data show, but we have unfortunately been unable to complete this part of our research to our satisfaction. There is an extraordinary conformity in all of our sources. Where difficulties arise, we will cite them as we have done in previous sections.

A. SOUNDS

1. Initial Consonants

a) Labials

In those correspondences of /f/, /p/, and /h/, Mandinka has /f/.

better	fisiya, fusiya
two	fula
blow up	funu
father	fa
blow	fle

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences of /d/ and /l/, Mandinka has /l/.

lie down	la
star	lolo
honey	li-o
firewood	lo
root	şul-o

c) Palatalizations

None of these processes have operated in Mandinka.

man	ke
bite	kin
sand	keny-o
inheritance	ke-u
do	ke
send	ki
middle	te / tema
bean	soso-o
chicken	sise
race	si-o
hair	ti-o
age	si-o
many	siya

d) Palatals

In those correspondences between /j/ and /y/ Mandinka has the following:

tree	iri / yiri
show	ita / yita
blood	el-o / yel-o
here	nan
see	je
fish	ye-o / nye-o
cat	nyankum-o

e) Velars and Labiovelars

i. In the correspondences of /gb, /g/, /k/, and /x/, Mandinka generally has /k/.

difficult	kole
bad	ku
skin	kur-o
heavy	kuli
hot	kan-ndi
chase	kenken-ndi
white	koyi

ii. In the correspondences between /k/ and /x/, Mandinka shows /k/.

man	ke
do	ke
neck	kan-o
head	kun-o
back	ko-o
bird	kono

iii. In the correspondences between /ŋ/, /ŋw/, Mandinka generally has /ŋ/.

thorn	ŋanin-o
itch	ŋanya
hero	ŋana

f) Prenasals

There is no evidence of prenasalization in our data.

watermelon	sar-o

baobab	sit-o
thief	sun-o
rabbit	san-o
spider	talen-o
Monday	tenen-o
frog	tot-o
oil palm	ten-o
guitar	kontin-o
squirrel	keren-o

2. Medial Consonants

a) Labials, Velars, and Labiovelars

In this set of correspondences, Mandinka has the following:

meat	sub-o
dream	sib-o
blessing	duwa
vulture	duw-o

b) Alveolars

In those correspondences between /t/, /d/ and /r/, Mandinka generally has /t/.

tie	siti
elder	koto
short	sutun (also: sutiya)
justice	kit-o
bag	bot-o
sweep	fita
frog	tot-o

c) Liquids

In those correspondences between /l/ and /r/, Mandinka has the following distributions:

road	sil-o
five	lulu
rope	jul-o
canoe	kulun-o
fear	silan-o
run	bori
sew	kara
moon	kar-o
indigo	kar-o

d) Velars

Intervocalic velar obstruents have for the most part been lost.

iron	ne-o
salt	ko
name	to
small	domanin
sleep	sino
sit	si
eight	sein / seyin
twenty	muan / muwan
kill	fa
close	taun / tawun
cattle	bean / beyan
bad	jau / jawu

e) Palatals

Intervocalic palatal nasals are found frequently in all Mandinka dialects.

truth	tonya
steal	sunya
rest	fonyo
equal	kanya
spoil	tinya

f) Nasal + Consonant Clusters

In general these clusters have not been reduced.

pass	tambi
crocodile	bamb-o
carry	samba
health	kende
rooster	duntun / dundun
flour	munk-o
hole	dink-o
power	fanka

3. Vowels

a) Vowel Reduction

This process does not operate in Mandinka.

share	tala
two	fula

b) Vowel Nasalization

Vowel nasalization is generally retained. When words are followed by the definite article, the nasal plus the article is pronounced /-ngo/ or /-ŋo/.

the fear	silan-o	[silaŋgo] [silaŋo]

This has led some scholars to represent the final orthographically by /-ng/. This representation is particularly awkward since in all of these dialects, the final nasal is linked homorganically to other following morphemes:

long ago	sin ba	[si^{m}ba]
one left	kilin bota	[kili^{m}bota]

c) Raising of /-a/

This process does not operate in Mandinka.

eye	nya
truth	tonya
steal	sunya

d) The Raising of /e/ and /o/

Mandinka has only five phonemic vowels. As in the other dialects, vowel length is phonemic but unstable. All of the mid-tense vowels have risen to their high counterparts:

child	dindin-o
leg	sin-o
one	kilin
arm	bul-o
horse	su-o
hut	bun-o
wash	ku

4. Tone

The most extensive analysis of tone in Mandinka is found in Rowlands (1959, pp. 21-36).

Rowlands' analysis is interesting in a good many respects. Instead of following the traditional terminological categories of high and low, Rowlands suggests that the tones be called level (high) and changing (low). As Rowlands states, "these names have been chosen because in most realizations of the former the pitch of the voice remains level throughout the word while in the latter the voice may rise, fall or remain level according to the circumstances" (1959, p. 21).

With level accent, "the pitch of the voice on the noun is level. A following level accent word has a level pitch a step lower while a moving accent word has a fall in pitch on its first syllable" (1959, p. 23).

the river is full	báa fáata le [¯ – – –]
the boy hasn't come yet	kàmbaanoo mán nàa fóloo [– – ¯ – ¬ _ _]
wash the cup!	mìndango kùu! [– ¯ ¯ ⌝]

Words like the emphatic le and certain auxiliaries are treated by Rowlands as accentless particles, the tones of which are determined by the preceding elements.

Whether Rowlands' analysis is appropriate for the dialect or not, it shows a very high degree of correlation with the tones and tonal configurations fo the eastern dialects, with the major exception being that in most of the other dialects of Mandekan succeeding high tones (level for Rowlands) occur on the same level of pitch, rather than stepping down. The tones of low tone words following high in the other dialects do not seem to exhibit the falling or high-low patterns that Rowlands and others have attested in Mandinka.

From Rowlands discussion of nouns in isolation, it is clear that the definite article -ò has a consistent low tone, and that low tone words preceding this morpheme have a rising pitch pattern.

marriage	fútűò
house	bűn-ò
water	jí-ò
lion	jàtóò
salt	kǒò
chicken	sìséò

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The Noun Phrase

a) Pronouns

Regular	Emphatic
ń	ńte
í	íte
à	àte
ǹ	ǹtelu
alu	àlutelu
ì	ìtelu

b) The Definite Article

The definite article in all the Mandinka dialects is -ò. The following are some contexts governing the pronunciation of the article:

1. When preceded by a word-final nasal, the combination results in /-ngo/.

tongue	nen-o [nengo]
foot	sin-o [singo]
baboon	kon-o [kongo]

2. When added to a polysyllabic word, the last vowel of the word will elide:

mat	basa
the mat	bas-o
stone	bere
the stone	ber-o

3. Monosyllabic nouns generally add the suffix to the final vowel:

man	ke
the man	ke-o
hair	ti
the hair	ti-o
horse	su
the horse	su-o

4. When the word ends in /o/, or sometimes /a/, the only phonetic distinction for the definite as opposed to the indefinite form is the length of the vowel and tone.

snake	sa
the snake	sǎà

meat	sùbo
the meat	sùbó-ò

Most Mandinka dictionaries do not take the above facts into account. When presenting the lexical forms of words, they present the citation form which, of course, is marked by the definite article. The user of the dictionary is then hard-put to know what the actual stem form of the word in question is.

c) The Plural Marker

The plural marker is -*lu* (-*nu* after nasals). It always follows the definite article.

friend	teri
the friend	ter-o
the friends	ter-o-lu
good friends	teri bet-o-lu

As Rowlands states (1959, p. 38):

> This plural suffix has some characteristics which could justify writing it as a separate word. These are:
>
> i) It may be regarded as having a separate accent of its own since in falling intonation, unlike accentless words, it is a step lower in pitch than the preceding syllable of the o-suffix form . . . .
>
> ii) A few instances have been found in texts in which *lu* is separated from its nominal by the modifier *le*, e.g.
>
> ń fá táata wò le lú bèndi
> my father went to set them right

We agree with Rowlands' analysis, although we do not agree with his analysis of the last example, which in our opinion is the emphatic plural form of the demonstrative pronoun, an analysis which would account for the high phonetic tone on *lu*.

d) The Possessive Marker

The possessive marker for alienable possession is *la* (*na* after nasals).

Bakari's house	Bakari la bun-o
Bakari's father	Bakari fa

e) The Emphatic Particle

le (*ne* after nasals):

BAKARI's house	Bakari le la bun-o

2. The Verb Phrase

a) The Past Marker

Past time is marked by the adverb *nun* at the end of the sentence.

If it weren't for him ...	n'ate te nun ...

b) The Auxiliary System

i. The General Completive

trans. *ye* (*ka* / *ga* after ń, ǹ):

They caught him	ì ye a muta
I caught him	ń ga a muta
We caught him	ǹ ga a muta

The negative is always *man*.

They have not caught him	ì man a muta

intrans. -ta :	He was caught	a mutata
man :	He wasn't caught	a man muta

ii. The Stative Completive

be ... -rin (-din after nasals):

It is hot	a be kandirin
Treachery has entered	jamfa be dundin
He is seated here	a be sirin nan

Rowlands (1959, p. 96) states that there is no negative for this construction.

iii. The General Noncompletive

ka (also kari, kali):

I go to the shore	ń ka taa bolonda la
Do you eat it?	álu k'a domo le ban?

neg. buka :

We do not eat it	ǹ buk'a domo
He does not pay debts.	á buka julu jo

iv. The Progressive

be / bi ... -la :

What are you doing?	i be mun ne kela?
He is cutting wood	a be loo katila
I will write its number	n b'a nimaroo safela

te / ti ... -la :

It won't be long	a te mela
I'm not washing it	ń t'a kula

v. Future

The future is marked by si; there is no negative counterpart.

si as an auxiliary indicates necessity, certainty, or inevitability of some future event.

We will/must do that	ǹ si wo ke
You will/must be careful	i si sabati
You will go to the right	i si taa buluba la
It will take you there	a s'í samba je

The negative can be expressed in the progressive or, in the cases of necessity, in the negative imperative.

vi. Hortative

maa :	God let him come!	Ala m'a na la!
	or	Ala m'a ye na!
	God let him get better!	Ala m'a fisaya la

vii. Imperative

Come here!	na jan!
You come here!	íte na jan!
You (pl) sit down!	álu sigi!
You (pl) leave it there!	alu aa tu je!
You (sg) keep your mouth shut!	íte i da biti!

viii. Subjunctive

ye (ga after ń and ǹ):

I don't want him to go	n man lafi a ye taa
He didn't agree for me to cut it	a man son n g'a kuntu

ix. Infinitive

ka :	To leave here to go there, it is far	ka bo nan ka taa je, o jamfata

3. Postpositions

a) Locative

to :	The smith is at the forge	num-o be tunkango le to
	Are you at peace?	i be heera to?
	Put salt in the meat!	ko ke subo to!

la is also used as a postposition, but it expresses more the activity than the location.

The smith is at forging	num-o be tunkango le la

b) Relational

ti :	They made their paths one	ì ye silolu ke kilin
	They divided it in two	ì y'a tala fula ti
	He came with a bird	a nata kuno ti

4. Sentence Types

a) Identification

... le mu :	Who is it?	juma le mu?
	It is I	nte le mu

... te (often nte):

its's not gold, it's silver	sano nte, kodo le mu

b) Predicate Nominal

... mu ... le ti :

This is mine	nte.ta mu nyin ti
Madu is a smith	Madu mu numole ti
If I were you ...	ni nte mu ite le ti ...

... nte ... ti :

Madu is not a smith	Madu nte numu ti

c) Predicate Adjectives

This form seems to have been completely absorbed either by the various verbal forms of the adjectives or by their nominal forms, as in appositions.

It is easy	a feeyata le
It's not very hot	a man kandi baake
It is clear	a koyita
It is new	a kutuyata le
It is not new	a man kutuya

d) Existential

be :	Is there peace?	heera be?
te :	If it weren't you ...	n'ite te ...

e) Locative

be / bi :	They are there	ì bí je
	He is in the house	a be bun-o kono
te / ti :	I have no money	kodi te n bula

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